

Originally Processed With FOIA(s):  
2012-3130-S

FOIA Number:  
2012-3130-S

# FOIA MARKER

**This is not a textual record. This is used as an  
administrative marker by the George Bush Presidential  
Library Staff.**

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**Record Group/Collection:** George H.W. Bush Presidential Records  
**Collection/Office of Origin:** National Security Council  
**Series:** Blackwill, Robert D., Files  
**Subseries:** Subject Files

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**OA/ID Number:** CF01952  
**Folder ID Number:** CF01952-007

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**Folder Title:**  
[Robert] Blackwill - [Handwritten Meeting] Notes [2]

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| Stack: | Row: | Section: | Shelf: | Position: |
|--------|------|----------|--------|-----------|
| V      | 0    | 0        | 0      | 0         |

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## Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet (George Bush Library)

| Doc. No. / Type | Subject/Title                                                                                       | Date     | Restriction        | Classification |
|-----------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------|--------------------|----------------|
| 01. Notes       | Handwritten notes, Re: Mulroney/ Toronto. (10 pp.)                                                  | 04/10/90 | (b)(1)             |                |
| 02. Notes       | Handwritten notes, Re: Genscher. (4 pp.)                                                            | 04/04/90 | (b)(1)             |                |
| 03. Notes       | Handwritten notes. (10 pp.)                                                                         | n.d.     | (b)(1)             |                |
| 04. Notes       | Handwritten notes, Re: Genscher. (4 pp.)                                                            | 04/04/90 | (b)(1)             |                |
| 05. Notes       | Handwritten notes, Re: Action RH. (8 pp.)                                                           | n.d.     | (b)(1)             |                |
| 06. Notes       | Handwritten notes, Re: Camp David/ Woerner. (8 pp.)                                                 | 02/24/90 | (b)(1)             |                |
| 07. Notes       | Handwritten notes, Re: Foreign Secretary Hurd/ UK. (7 pp.)                                          | 01/29/90 | (b)(1)             |                |
| 08. Notes       | Handwritten meeting notes. (3 pp.)                                                                  | n.d.     | (b)(1)             |                |
| 09. Notes       | Handwritten notes, Re: Balcerowicz. (2 pp.)                                                         | n.d.     | (b)(1)             |                |
| 10a. Notes      | Handwritten notes, Re: Polish Americans. (3 pp.)                                                    | n.d.     | (b)(1)             |                |
| 10b. Memo       | Robert Gates to POTUS, Re: Your Meeting Today with Leaders of the Polish American Congress. (1 pp.) | 03/14/90 | (b) <del>(1)</del> | <del>✓</del>   |
| 10c. List       | Proposed U.S. Directors for Polish Enterprise Fund. (1 pp.)                                         | n.d.     | (b)(6)             |                |

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### Collection:

**Record Group:** Bush Presidential Records  
**Office:** National Security Council  
**Series:** Blackwill, Robert D., Files  
**Subseries:** Subject Files  
**WHORM Cat.:**  
**File Location:** [Robert] Blackwill - [Handwritten Meeting] Notes [2]

**Pinksheet Number:** RML8161  
**OA/ID Number:** CF01952-007  
**Date Closed:** 1/24/2013  
**FOIA/Sys Case #:** 2012-3130-S  
**Re-review Case #:**  
**P-2/P-5 Review Case #:**



# Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

## (George Bush Library)

| Doc. No. / Type     | Subject/Title                                                                | Date     | Restriction       | Classification |
|---------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------|-------------------|----------------|
| 10d. Cable          | Cable Number: 140415Z Mar 90. (2 pp.)                                        | 03/14/90 | (b)(1)            | C              |
| 10e. Cable          | Cable Number: 141652Z Mar 90. (3 pp.)                                        | 03/14/90 | <del>(b)(1)</del> | <del>C</del>   |
| 10f. Letter         | Jan Nowak to Robert D. Blackwill, Re: German-Polish border question. (2 pp.) | 02/28/90 | <del>(b)(1)</del> |                |
| 10g. Letter         | Jan Nowak to Robert D. Blackwill, Re: German-Polish border question. (2 pp.) | 02/28/90 | <del>(b)(1)</del> |                |
| 11. Notes           | Handwritten notes. (4 pp.)                                                   | n.d.     | (b)(1)            |                |
| 12. Notes           | Handwritten notes, Re: Kohl/ Bush meeting. (17 pp.)                          | n.d.     | (b)(1)            |                |
| 13. Notes           | Handwritten notes, Re: Bush/ Kohl. (7 pp.)                                   | 02/25/90 | (b)(1)            |                |
| 14a. Notes          | Handwritten meeting notes. (5 pp.)                                           | n.d.     | (b)(1)            |                |
| 14b. Memo           | From Brent Scowcroft, Re: Meeting with Yevgeniy Primakov. (3 pp.)            | 10/25/89 | (b)(1)            | S              |
| 14c. Talking Points | Points to Be Made in Meeting with Yevgeniy Primakov. (2 pp.)                 | n.d.     | <del>(b)(1)</del> | <del>C</del>   |
| 14d. Report         | Government report. (2 pp.)                                                   | 10/23/89 | (b)(1)            | S              |
| 15. Notes           | Handwritten notes, Re: NATO. (5 pp.)                                         | 12/03/89 | (b)(1)            |                |

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**Pinksheet Number:** RML8161

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**P-2/P-5 Review Case #:**

# Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

## (George Bush Library)

| Doc. No. / Type | Subject/Title              | Date     | Restriction | Classification |
|-----------------|----------------------------|----------|-------------|----------------|
| 16. Notes       | Handwritten notes. (2 pp.) | 12/20/89 | (b)(1)      |                |
| 17. Notes       | Handwritten notes. (3 pp.) | 01/11/90 | (b)(1)      |                |
| 18. Notes       | Handwritten notes. (5 pp.) | n.d.     | (b)(1)      |                |
| 19. Notes       | Handwritten notes. (1 pp.) | n.d.     | (b)(1)      |                |

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# Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

## (George Bush Library)

| Document No.<br>and Type | Subject/Title of Document                          | Date     | Restriction | Class. |
|--------------------------|----------------------------------------------------|----------|-------------|--------|
| 01. Notes                | Handwritten notes, Re: Mulroney/ Toronto. (10 pp.) | 04/10/90 | (b)(1)      |        |

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**Subseries:** Subject Files  
**WHORM Cat.:**  
**File Location:** [Robert] Blackwill - [Handwritten Meeting] Notes [2]

|                               |             |                             |             |
|-------------------------------|-------------|-----------------------------|-------------|
| <b>Date Closed:</b>           | 1/24/2013   | <b>OA/ID Number:</b>        | CF01952-007 |
| <b>FOIA/SYS Case #:</b>       | 2012-3130-S | <b>Appeal Case #:</b>       |             |
| <b>Re-review Case #:</b>      |             | <b>Appeal Disposition:</b>  |             |
| <b>P-2/P-5 Review Case #:</b> |             | <b>Disposition Date:</b>    |             |
| <b>AR Case #:</b>             |             | <b>MR Case #:</b>           |             |
| <b>AR Disposition:</b>        |             | <b>MR Disposition:</b>      |             |
| <b>AR Disposition Date:</b>   |             | <b>MR Disposition Date:</b> |             |

### RESTRICTION CODES

#### Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

P-1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]  
 P-2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]  
 P-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]  
 P-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]  
 P-5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]  
 P-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Removed as a personal record misfile.

#### Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

(b)(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]  
 (b)(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]  
 (b)(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]  
 (b)(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]  
 (b)(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]  
 (b)(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]  
 (b)(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]  
 (b)(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information

# Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

## (George Bush Library)

| Document No.<br>and Type | Subject/Title of Document                | Date     | Restriction | Class. |
|--------------------------|------------------------------------------|----------|-------------|--------|
| 02. Notes                | Handwritten notes, Re: Genscher. (4 pp.) | 04/04/90 | (b)(1)      |        |

### Collection:

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**Office:** National Security Council  
**Series:** Blackwill, Robert D., Files  
**Subseries:** Subject Files  
**WHORM Cat.:**  
**File Location:** [Robert] Blackwill - [Handwritten Meeting] Notes [2]

|                               |             |                             |             |
|-------------------------------|-------------|-----------------------------|-------------|
| <b>Date Closed:</b>           | 1/24/2013   | <b>OA/ID Number:</b>        | CF01952-007 |
| <b>FOIA/SYS Case #:</b>       | 2012-3130-S | <b>Appeal Case #:</b>       |             |
| <b>Re-review Case #:</b>      |             | <b>Appeal Disposition:</b>  |             |
| <b>P-2/P-5 Review Case #:</b> |             | <b>Disposition Date:</b>    |             |
| <b>AR Case #:</b>             |             | <b>MR Case #:</b>           |             |
| <b>AR Disposition:</b>        |             | <b>MR Disposition:</b>      |             |
| <b>AR Disposition Date:</b>   |             | <b>MR Disposition Date:</b> |             |

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Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

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(b)(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]  
 (b)(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]  
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 (b)(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]  
 (b)(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]  
 (b)(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]  
 (b)(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]  
 (b)(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Removed as a personal record misfile.

# Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

## (George Bush Library)

| Document No.<br>and Type | Subject/Title of Document   | Date | Restriction | Class. |
|--------------------------|-----------------------------|------|-------------|--------|
| 03. Notes                | Handwritten notes. (10 pp.) | n.d. | (b)(1)      |        |

**Collection:**

**Record Group:** Bush Presidential Records  
**Office:** National Security Council  
**Series:** Blackwill, Robert D., Files  
**Subseries:** Subject Files  
**WHORM Cat.:**  
**File Location:** [Robert] Blackwill - [Handwritten Meeting] Notes [2]

|                               |             |                             |             |
|-------------------------------|-------------|-----------------------------|-------------|
| <b>Date Closed:</b>           | 1/24/2013   | <b>OA/ID Number:</b>        | CF01952-007 |
| <b>FOIA/SYS Case #:</b>       | 2012-3130-S | <b>Appeal Case #:</b>       |             |
| <b>Re-review Case #:</b>      |             | <b>Appeal Disposition:</b>  |             |
| <b>P-2/P-5 Review Case #:</b> |             | <b>Disposition Date:</b>    |             |
| <b>AR Case #:</b>             |             | <b>MR Case #:</b>           |             |
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(b)(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]  
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 (b)(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information



# Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

## (George Bush Library)

| Document No.<br>and Type | Subject/Title of Document                | Date     | Restriction | Class. |
|--------------------------|------------------------------------------|----------|-------------|--------|
| 04. Notes                | Handwritten notes, Re: Genscher. (4 pp.) | 04/04/90 | (b)(1)      |        |

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**Office:** National Security Council  
**Series:** Blackwill, Robert D., Files  
**Subseries:** Subject Files  
**WHORM Cat.:**  
**File Location:** [Robert] Blackwill - [Handwritten Meeting] Notes [2]

|                               |             |                             |             |
|-------------------------------|-------------|-----------------------------|-------------|
| <b>Date Closed:</b>           | 1/24/2013   | <b>OA/ID Number:</b>        | CF01952-007 |
| <b>FOIA/SYS Case #:</b>       | 2012-3130-S | <b>Appeal Case #:</b>       |             |
| <b>Re-review Case #:</b>      |             | <b>Appeal Disposition:</b>  |             |
| <b>P-2/P-5 Review Case #:</b> |             | <b>Disposition Date:</b>    |             |
| <b>AR Case #:</b>             |             | <b>MR Case #:</b>           |             |
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**Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]**

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(b)(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information

# Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

## (George Bush Library)

| Document No.<br>and Type | Subject/Title of Document                 | Date | Restriction | Class. |
|--------------------------|-------------------------------------------|------|-------------|--------|
| 05. Notes                | Handwritten notes, Re: Action RH. (8 pp.) | n.d. | (b)(1)      |        |

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**Series:** Blackwill, Robert D., Files  
**Subseries:** Subject Files  
**WHORM Cat.:**  
**File Location:** [Robert] Blackwill - [Handwritten Meeting] Notes [2]

|                               |             |                             |             |
|-------------------------------|-------------|-----------------------------|-------------|
| <b>Date Closed:</b>           | 1/24/2013   | <b>OA/ID Number:</b>        | CF01952-007 |
| <b>FOIA/SYS Case #:</b>       | 2012-3130-S | <b>Appeal Case #:</b>       |             |
| <b>Re-review Case #:</b>      |             | <b>Appeal Disposition:</b>  |             |
| <b>P-2/P-5 Review Case #:</b> |             | <b>Disposition Date:</b>    |             |
| <b>AR Case #:</b>             |             | <b>MR Case #:</b>           |             |
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## (George Bush Library)

| Document No.<br>and Type | Subject/Title of Document                           | Date     | Restriction | Class. |
|--------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------|----------|-------------|--------|
| 06. Notes                | Handwritten notes, Re: Camp David/ Woerner. (8 pp.) | 02/24/90 | (b)(1)      |        |

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**File Location:** [Robert] Blackwill - [Handwritten Meeting] Notes [2]

|                               |             |                             |             |
|-------------------------------|-------------|-----------------------------|-------------|
| <b>Date Closed:</b>           | 1/24/2013   | <b>OA/ID Number:</b>        | CF01952-007 |
| <b>FOIA/SYS Case #:</b>       | 2012-3130-S | <b>Appeal Case #:</b>       |             |
| <b>Re-review Case #:</b>      |             | <b>Appeal Disposition:</b>  |             |
| <b>P-2/P-5 Review Case #:</b> |             | <b>Disposition Date:</b>    |             |
| <b>AR Case #:</b>             |             | <b>MR Case #:</b>           |             |
| <b>AR Disposition:</b>        |             | <b>MR Disposition:</b>      |             |
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# Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

## (George Bush Library)

| Document No.<br>and Type | Subject/Title of Document                                  | Date     | Restriction | Class. |
|--------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------|----------|-------------|--------|
| 07. Notes                | Handwritten notes, Re: Foreign Secretary Hurd/ UK. (7 pp.) | 01/29/90 | (b)(1)      |        |

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**Subseries:** Subject Files  
**WHORM Cat.:**  
**File Location:** [Robert] Blackwill - [Handwritten Meeting] Notes [2]

|                                     |                                  |
|-------------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| <b>Date Closed:</b> 1/24/2013       | <b>OA/ID Number:</b> CF01952-007 |
| <b>FOIA/SYS Case #:</b> 2012-3130-S | <b>Appeal Case #:</b>            |
| <b>Re-review Case #:</b>            | <b>Appeal Disposition:</b>       |
| <b>P-2/P-5 Review Case #:</b>       | <b>Disposition Date:</b>         |
| <b>AR Case #:</b>                   | <b>MR Case #:</b>                |
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# Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

## (George Bush Library)

| Document No.<br>and Type | Subject/Title of Document          | Date | Restriction | Class. |
|--------------------------|------------------------------------|------|-------------|--------|
| 08. Notes                | Handwritten meeting notes. (3 pp.) | n.d. | (b)(1)      |        |

**Collection:**

**Record Group:** Bush Presidential Records  
**Office:** National Security Council  
**Series:** Blackwill, Robert D., Files  
**Subseries:** Subject Files  
**WHORM Cat.:**  
**File Location:** [Robert] Blackwill - [Handwritten Meeting] Notes [2]

|                               |             |                             |             |
|-------------------------------|-------------|-----------------------------|-------------|
| <b>Date Closed:</b>           | 1/24/2013   | <b>OA/ID Number:</b>        | CF01952-007 |
| <b>FOIA/SYS Case #:</b>       | 2012-3130-S | <b>Appeal Case #:</b>       |             |
| <b>Re-review Case #:</b>      |             | <b>Appeal Disposition:</b>  |             |
| <b>P-2/P-5 Review Case #:</b> |             | <b>Disposition Date:</b>    |             |
| <b>AR Case #:</b>             |             | <b>MR Case #:</b>           |             |
| <b>AR Disposition:</b>        |             | <b>MR Disposition:</b>      |             |
| <b>AR Disposition Date:</b>   |             | <b>MR Disposition Date:</b> |             |

### RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

P-1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]  
P-2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]  
P-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]  
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(b)(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]  
(b)(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]  
(b)(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Removed as a personal record misfile.

# Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

## (George Bush Library)

| Document No.<br>and Type | Subject/Title of Document                   | Date | Restriction | Class. |
|--------------------------|---------------------------------------------|------|-------------|--------|
| 09. Notes                | Handwritten notes, Re: Balcerowicz. (2 pp.) | n.d. | (b)(1)      |        |

**Collection:**

**Record Group:** Bush Presidential Records  
**Office:** National Security Council  
**Series:** Blackwill, Robert D., Files  
**Subseries:** Subject Files  
**WHORM Cat.:**  
**File Location:** [Robert] Blackwill - [Handwritten Meeting] Notes [2]

|                                     |                                  |
|-------------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| <b>Date Closed:</b> 1/24/2013       | <b>OA/ID Number:</b> CF01952-007 |
| <b>FOIA/SYS Case #:</b> 2012-3130-S | <b>Appeal Case #:</b>            |
| <b>Re-review Case #:</b>            | <b>Appeal Disposition:</b>       |
| <b>P-2/P-5 Review Case #:</b>       | <b>Disposition Date:</b>         |
| <b>AR Case #:</b>                   | <b>MR Case #:</b>                |
| <b>AR Disposition:</b>              | <b>MR Disposition:</b>           |
| <b>AR Disposition Date:</b>         | <b>MR Disposition Date:</b>      |

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PRM. Removed as a personal record misfile.



SNF/FOTL

2+4

Menschen, jurisdiction

EC statement

Gorby

UK/FRG

Mitt/Quai

Document Originally  
Attached to  
Following Page

# Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

## (George Bush Library)

| Document No.<br>and Type | Subject/Title of Document                        | Date | Restriction | Class. |
|--------------------------|--------------------------------------------------|------|-------------|--------|
| 10a. Notes               | Handwritten notes, Re: Polish Americans. (3 pp.) | n.d. | (b)(1)      |        |

**Collection:**

**Record Group:** Bush Presidential Records  
**Office:** National Security Council  
**Series:** Blackwill, Robert D., Files  
**Subseries:** Subject Files  
**WHORM Cat.:**  
**File Location:** [Robert] Blackwill - [Handwritten Meeting] Notes [2]

|                               |             |                             |             |
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| <b>FOIA/SYS Case #:</b>       | 2012-3130-S | <b>Appeal Case #:</b>       |             |
| <b>Re-review Case #:</b>      |             | <b>Appeal Disposition:</b>  |             |
| <b>P-2/P-5 Review Case #:</b> |             | <b>Disposition Date:</b>    |             |
| <b>AR Case #:</b>             |             | <b>MR Case #:</b>           |             |
| <b>AR Disposition:</b>        |             | <b>MR Disposition:</b>      |             |
| <b>AR Disposition Date:</b>   |             | <b>MR Disposition Date:</b> |             |

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PRM. Removed as a personal record misfile.

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

1940 add-on

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 14, 1990

INFORMATION

DECLASSIFIED  
PER NSC WAIVER, 1500 2021-CR  
By SS NARA, Date 9/5/15

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ROBERT GATES

SUBJECT: Your Meeting Today with Leaders of the Polish American Congress at 2:00 p.m.: New Developments on the Issue of Polish Participation in the Two Plus Four Process

Despite your agreement with Chancellor Kohl at Camp David that Poland would not be a formal participant in the Two Plus Four talks, yesterday Foreign Minister Genscher and French Foreign Minister Dumas announced jointly in Paris that Poland should participate in the Two Plus Four talks "when the question of the western border of Poland is discussed." We talked to Horst Teltschik this morning. He knew nothing about the Genscher-Dumas statement and he said that Chancellor Kohl's position had not changed.

We think it is now likely that Poland will be at the Two Plus Four table for discussion of the border question and we will not want to seem to be dragging our heels, especially with the Polish-American community. However, I do not believe you should endorse direct Polish participation in the Two Plus Four in this afternoon's meeting with the Polish-American Congress. Already stung by Mitterrand's recent criticism of his position on the Polish border and Thatcher's earlier remarks on this issue, Kohl is trying carefully to move the border issue in a constructive direction. We do not want him to think you are joining the chorus of critics. You can, of course, expect that the Polish American leaders will immediately make public any remark you may make on the question of Polish-German borders or Polish participation in the Two Plus Four.

The German position is still evolving. We may therefore wish to save our specific endorsement of direct Polish participation in the Two Plus Four until after your phone conversation with Kohl tomorrow and aim to announce it after your meeting with Prime Minister Mazowiecki next week. Today, I suggest you make the following points I have worked out with Jim Baker:

- I made it clear at Camp David, after my meeting with Helmut Kohl, that no decisions will be made on Poland's borders without Poland's involvement.
- The exact mechanics of Polish involvement will be agreed within the Two Plus Four discussions.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Declassify on: OADR



# Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

## (George Bush Library)

| Document No.<br>and Type | Subject/Title of Document                                   | Date | Restriction | Class. |
|--------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------|------|-------------|--------|
| 10c. List                | Proposed U.S. Directors for Polish Enterprise Fund. (1 pp.) | n.d. | (b)(6)      |        |

**Collection:**

**Record Group:** Bush Presidential Records  
**Office:** National Security Council  
**Series:** Blackwill, Robert D., Files  
**Subseries:** Subject Files  
**WHORM Cat.:**  
**File Location:** [Robert] Blackwill - [Handwritten Meeting] Notes [2]

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| <b>AR Disposition:</b>        |             | <b>MR Disposition:</b>      |             |
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Bundestag Declaration on Polish Border (March 8)

The German Bundestag, with respect to its declaration of November 8, 1989, proposes that as soon as possible following the elections in the GDR the two freely elected parliaments and governments make an identical declaration, the core of which would contain the following:

"The Polish people should know that its right to live in secure borders will not be called into question by us Germans through territorial claims, either now or in the future."

The purpose of this declaration is, in accordance with the principles of the CSCE Final Act and looking towards German unity, to reaffirm that the inviolability of borders in relation to Poland is an indispensable basis for peaceful cohabitation in Europe.

In this regard the border question should be settled in a treaty between an all-German government and the Polish government which will put a final seal on the reconciliation of the two peoples.

Poland's August 23, 1953 renunciation of reparations from Germany and the common declaration of Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki and Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl of the 10 of November 1989 also remain valid for unified Germany.

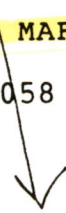


LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, I HAVE IMMEDIATELY TAKEN UP THE PROPOSAL OF THE IRISH EC COUNCIL PRESIDENT FOR A SPECIAL SUMMIT IN APRIL BECAUSE I THINK THAT IT IS ENORMOUSLY IMPORTANT TO INTENSIVELY DISCUSS THE FUTURE DEVELOPMENT IN GERMANY WITH OUR PARTNERS AND FRIENDS IN THE EC, TOO. I ALSO BELIEVE THAT A MESSAGE OF SOLIDARITY FROM THE SUMMIT IS ALSO VERY IMPORTANT FOR THE GDR PEOPLE IN THIS STAGE OF DEVELOPMENT. I AM GRATEFUL TO COMMISSION PRESIDENT JACQUES DELORS FOR ALREADY GIVING A CLEAR SIGNAL IN HIS SPEECH TO THE EC PARLIAMENT ON 17 JANUARY. NO ONE IN EUROPE MUST BE AFRAID OF GERMAN PREDOMINANCE IN THE EC. TOGETHER WITH OUR FRENCH FRIENDS IN PARTICULAR, WE WILL CONTINUE TO BE THE MOTOR OF THE EUROPEAN UNIFICATION PROCESS ALSO IN THE FUTURE. ((APPLAUSE))

MADAME PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, A DRAFT RESOLUTION OF THE COALITION GROUP ON THE QUESTION OF POLAND'S WESTERN BORDER HAS BEEN SUBMITTED TO THE GERMAN BUNDESTAG TODAY. I REPEATEDLY EXPRESSED THE POLITICAL WILL OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT HEADED BY ME TO FINALLY SETTLE THIS QUESTION. TO ADD QUESTION MARKS DOES NOT SERVE THE GERMANS' INTEREST. ((APPLAUSE))

SINCE I CAME INTO OFFICE IN 1982, I HAVE NEVER LEFT ANY DOUBT THAT WE STICK TO THE LETTER OF ALL PARTS OF THE WARSAW TREATY. IN THIS TREATY, THE FRG AND THE POLISH PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC AFFIRMED THE INVIOABILITY OF THE EXISTING BORDERS NOW AND IN THE FUTURE AND MUTUALLY COMMITTED THEMSELVES TO UNRESERVEDLY RESPECT THEIR TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY. BOTH SIDES STATED THAT THEY DO NOT CLAIM ANY TERRITORY FROM THE OTHER AND WILL NOT DO SO IN THE FUTURE. AT THE SAME TIME, IT IS STATED THAT THIS TREATY DOES NOT CONCERN THE AGREEMENTS CONCLUDED BY THE PARTIES BEFORE OR THE RESPECTIVE BILATERAL OR MULTILATERAL INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENTS. THUS, THE FORMER FRG GOVERNMENT ALSO TOOK THE FACT INTO ACCOUNT THAT THE FRG WAS NOT ABLE TO ACT AS THE GREATER GERMAN SOVEREIGN AUTHORITY, BUT ONLY ON ITS OWN BEHALF. WE DO NOT KNOW THE DAY OR THE DATE THAT NATIONAL UNITY WILL BE ESTABLISHED. WE ONLY KNOW THAT WE ARE NOW IN THE HAPPY POSITION TO IMPLEMENT THIS SOON.  
(MORE) ILG30803.01 080926 IL/GRUBBS/EK/ 08/1202Z MAR

<SECT>SECTION: 01 OF 01<SSN> 0857<STOR> 900308071058 MSG000258189058  
<TOR>900308072227





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RUDKMKE/FBIS LONDON UK  
RUEADWW/THE WHITE HOUSE//SIT ROOM: PASS TO STEVE BENKO//  
RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHINGTON DC//INR/SEE/EE//  
RUEHEB/AMEMBASSY BERLIN  
RUEHWR/AMEMBASSY WARSAW  
RUFHIN/AMEMBASSY BONN//GROBEL & EDGAR OCA//  
RUFHMB/USMISSION USVIENNA//USVIENNA FOR USDEL CFE//  
RUHQIPA/COMIPAC HONOLULU HI  
ACCT FBAU-EWDK

<SUBJ>SUBJ: TAKE 6 OF 7 -- KOHL GOVERNMENT STATEMENT 8 MAR

<TEXT>

UNCLAS 7H/LD

SERIAL: AU0803114790

COUNTRY: FRG

SUBJ: TAKE 6 OF 7 -- KOHL GOVERNMENT STATEMENT 8 MAR

REF: AU0803100690 MUNICH BAYERISCHER RUNDFUNK NETWORK GERMAN  
080926//IMPLEMENT THIS SOON.

TEXT:

((TEXT)) NOT ONLY THE GERMANS BUT ALSO OUR NEIGHBORS,  
PARTICULARLY THE POLES, EXPECT AN ANSWER AS TO WHAT POSITION A  
FUTURE ALL-GERMAN STATE WILL ASSUME TOWARD EXISTING OBLIGATIONS.  
THE PATH SHOWN IN THE PRESENT DRAFT RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE  
COALITION GROUPS PROVIDES A CLEAR POSITION. I EMPHATICALLY SUPPORT  
THIS RESOLUTION. ((APPLAUSE))

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, IT IS ALSO IN OUR VERY OWN INTEREST NOT TO  
STRAIN THE PATH TOWARD UNITY WITH BORDER ISSUES. ONLY IN THIS WAY  
WILL WE RECEIVE THE SUPPORT OF OUR FRIENDS AND NEIGHBORS IN THE EAST  
AND WEST FOR OUR NATIONAL CONCERN OF GERMAN UNITY. THE GOVERNMENT  
THAT I AM LEADING WOULD WELCOME THE ADOPTION OF IDENTICAL STATEMENTS  
BY THE TWO FREELY ELECTED GERMAN PARLIAMENTS, BASED ON THE  
RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE GERMAN BUNDESTAG ON 8 NOVEMBER 1989, AFTER  
ELECTIONS IN THE GDR ON 18 MARCH. SUCH A STATEMENT WOULD BE A CLEAR  
EXPRESSION OF THE POLITICAL WILL OF ALL GERMAN PEOPLE TO RECOGNIZE,  
WITH A VIEW TO GERMAN UNITY, THE INVIOABILITY OF THE BORDERS WITH  
POLAND AS AN INDISPENSABLE CONDITION FOR PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE IN  
EUROPE. I WILL THEN WORK TOWARD A DEMOCRATICALLY ELECTED GDR  
GOVERNMENT AND THE FRG GOVERNMENT ALSO ISSUING A CORRESPONDING  
DECLARATION OF INTENT.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, A FUTURE SOVEREIGN ALL-GERMAN STATE WILL  
HAVE TO SETTLE THIS QUESTION AND CONCLUDE A BINDING AGREEMENT WITH  
THE REPUBLIC OF POLAND ON THE BASIS OF INTERNATIONAL LAW. THE  
PRESENT DRAFT RESOLUTION OF THE COALITION GROUPS CONTAINS A CLEAR  
POLITICAL DECLARATION OF INTENT FOR SUCH A SETTLEMENT. MY GOAL --  
AND I HOPE THIS IS OUR COMMON GOAL -- IS TO PLACE RECONCILIATION  
BETWEEN THE GERMAN AND THE POLISH PEOPLE ON A LASTING AND SOLID  
BASIS. IN THIS CONNECTION, IT IS ALSO VERY IMPORTANT THAT ISSUES  
WHICH ARE VITAL FOR GERMAN-POLISH RELATIONS CAN BE CONSIDERED TO BE  
SETTLED. I MADE IT CLEAR AT MY NEWS CONFERENCE ON MONDAY ((5  
MARCH)) THAT THE BORDER ISSUE IS BY NO MEANS LINKED WITH CERTAIN  
CONDITIONS. WE PROCEED FROM THE FACT THAT THE PROMISE GIVEN BY THE  
POLISH SIDE WILL BE VALID FOR A FUTURE ALL-GERMAN STATE. AMONG  
OTHER THINGS, I WOULD LIKE TO MAKE PARTICULAR MENTION OF THE  
CULTURAL RIGHTS OF THE GERMANS. AS A MATTER OF FACT, THIS IS NO  
UNREASONABLE DEMAND. THE PROTECTION OF MINORITIES MUST BE AN  
ELEMENT OF A JOINT LEGAL ORDER IN A FUTURE EUROPE. ((APPLAUSE))

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, A FEW DAYS AGO, FRANCOIS MITTERRAND RIGHTLY  
POINTED OUT IN A COMPREHENSIVE INTERVIEW THAT THE RESPECT OF THE



BORDERS -- I QUOTE -- MUST BE ACCOMPANIED BY APPROPRIATE MEASURES IN FAVOR OF THE MINORITIES THAT LIVE WITHIN THESE BORDERS. HE EXPRESSLY MENTIONED THE HELSINKI AGREEMENT. NOW I WOULD LIKE TO ASK YOU THE FOLLOWING: IF THE PRESIDENT OF THE FRENCH REPUBLIC MENTIONED THIS TOPIC IN A GENERAL WAY IN THE FACE OF REFORMS IN THE MIDDLE EAST, SOUTHEAST EUROPE, IN BULGARIA, ROMANIA, HUNGARY, IN POLAND, AND OTHER COUNTRIES, WHAT IS SO BAD ABOUT THE FRG CHANCELLOR ADDRESSING THIS ISSUE CLEARLY IN CONNECTION WITH THE ETHNIC GERMANS LIVING IN POLAND? ((APPLAUSE))

IS IT NOT DEPRESSING THAT WE HAVE TO DISCUSS THIS HERE AT ALL? ((APPLAUSE))

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, AGAINST THE BACKGROUND OF DEMANDS, AS HAVE BEEN PUT FORTH RECENTLY BY VARIOUS SIDES, I AND THE FRG GOVERNMENT CANNOT AVOID CALLING FOR CLARITY IN CONNECTION WITH THE ISSUE CONCERNING THE SO-CALLED REPARATION PAYMENTS. WE HAVE A CERTAIN PAST IN THIS RESPECT, IN A SPECIAL WAY. I WOULD LIKE TO REMIND YOU OF THIS HERE. WHEN THE AGREEMENT ON THE PENSIONS WAS NEGOTIATED UNDER THE SCHMIDT GOVERNMENT -- MINISTER GENSCHER ALSO PARTICIPATED -- THE APPROVAL BY THE FRG BUNDESRAT WAS ESSENTIAL BECAUSE THE BUNDESRAT WAS RESPONSIBLE ACCORDING TO THE CONSTITUTION.  
(MORE) GFG10803.04 080926 GF/HORLER/AK 08/1152 MAR

<SECT>SECTION: 01 OF 01<SSN> 0855<STOR> 900308070443 MSG000258188683  
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RUDKMKB/FBIS LONDON UK//BBC//  
RUDKMKE/FBIS LONDON UK  
RUEADWW/THE WHITE HOUSE//SIT ROOM: PASS TO STEVE BENKO//  
RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHINGTON DC//INR/SEE/EE//  
RUEHEB/AMEMBASSY BERLIN  
RUEHWR/AMEMBASSY WARSAW  
RUFHIN/AMEMBASSY BONN//GROBEL & EDGAR OCA//  
RUFHMB/USMISSION USVIENNA//USVIENNA FOR USDEL CFE//  
RUHQIPA/COMIPAC HONOLULU HI  
ACCT FBAU-EWDK

<SUBJ>SUBJ: TAKE 7 OF 7 -- KOHL BUNDESTAG STATEMENT 8 MAR

<TEXT>  
UNCLAS 7H/LD  
SERIAL: AU0803112890  
COUNTRY: FRG  
SUBJ: TAKE 7 OF 7 -- KOHL BUNDESTAG STATEMENT 8 MAR  
REF: AU0803100690 MUNICH BAYERISCHER RUNDFUNK GERMAN 080926///TO  
THE CONSTITUTION.

TEXT:  
((TEXT)) IN THE GERMAN BUNDES RAT IT WAS THE VOTES OF THE CDU/CSU  
LAENDER, WHICH HAD THE LARGE MAJORITY THERE, THAT MADE THIS  
REGULATION POSSIBLE IN THE FIRST PLACE. I REMEMBER VERY WELL THAT  
NIGHTTIME SESSION IN WHICH YOU, OVER THERE IN THE OLLENAUER HOUSE,  
DEFINITELY EXPECTED THE CDU/CSU TO WRECK THIS AGREEMENT AND TO BE  
ABLE TO GAIN VOTES BECAUSE OF THIS AT THE THEN UPCOMING ELECTIONS.  
YOU HAD TO REPULP THE FLIERS, BECAUSE ALREADY AT THAT TIME WE WERE  
ADVOCATING PEACE AND TOGETHERNESS WITH THE POLES. ((APPLAUSE))

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, IT IS INDISPUTABLE THAT IN POLAND AND ALSO  
IN OTHER PLACES DEMANDS ARE BEING DISCUSSED AND, THEREFORE, THIS IS  
NOT A PHANTOM PROBLEM. ((UNINTELLIGIBLE INTERJECTIONS)) AND,  
THEREFORE, IT HAS TO BE BROACHED. THIS CLARIFICATION IS IN THE  
WELL-UNDERSTOOD GERMAN INTEREST AND IN THE WELL-UNDERSTOOD INTEREST  
OF FRIENDLY RELATIONS WITH OUR POLISH NEIGHBORS. NO ONE BENEFITS IF  
DEMANDS REMAIN ON THE TABLE AND GIVE THE IMPRESSION THAT IN THE  
FUTURE THE GERMANS WILL BE FACED WITH GIGANTIC BURDENS.  
((UNINTELLIGIBLE INTERJECTIONS, APPLAUSE))

HISTORICAL EXPERIENCE SHOWS THAT WE SHOULD BE WARNED. AS REGARDS  
POLAND, I PROCEED FROM THE PREMISE THAT POLAND'S RENUNCIATION OF  
REPARATIONS FROM GERMANY AS A WHOLE, WHICH WAS MADE IN AUGUST 1953,  
WILL ALSO REMAIN VALID FOR THE UNITED GERMANY AND THIS IS EXPLICITLY  
REPEATED IN THE DRAFT RESOLUTUION. ((UNINTELLIGIBLE INTERJECTIONS))

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, DESPITE ALL THE DIFFERENCES I HOPE THAT I  
MAY SAY IN CONCLUSION THAT WE, THE FRG BUNDESTAG, THE FREELY ELECTED  
PARLIAMENT OF THE FRG, AGREE ON THIS QUESTION -- NAMELY ON THE  
QUESTION OR THE DECISION THAT AT THIS HISTORIC HOUR WE WILL MAKE A  
CONTRIBUTION TO HAVING A REUNITED GERMANY COME ABOUT SOON, TO HAVING  
IT EMBEDDED INTO THE DEVELOPMENTS IN EUROPE, THAT GERMANY CAN  
FLOURISH IN EUROPE ONLY IF EUROPE IS FREE AND UNITED AND GERMANY IS  
FREE AND UNITED, AND THAT WE WANT TO MAKE A CONTRIBUTION TO PEACE.

IN THE LAST DECADE OF THIS CENTURY WE HAVE A NEW CHANCE. WE WANT  
TO MAKE GOOD USE OF IT. ((APPLAUSE))  
(ENDALL) ISG20803.07K 080926 IS/ZOECHBAUER/AK 08/1157Z MAR

<SECT>SECTION: 01 OF 01<SSN> 0856<STOR> 900308071349 MSG000258189229  
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# Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

## (George Bush Library)

| Document No.<br>and Type | Subject/Title of Document             | Date     | Restriction | Class. |
|--------------------------|---------------------------------------|----------|-------------|--------|
| 10d. Cable               | Cable Number: 140415Z Mar 90. (2 pp.) | 03/14/90 | (b)(1)      | C      |

**Collection:**

**Record Group:** Bush Presidential Records  
**Office:** National Security Council  
**Series:** Blackwill, Robert D., Files  
**Subseries:** Subject Files  
**WHORM Cat.:**  
**File Location:** [Robert] Blackwill - [Handwritten Meeting] Notes [2]

|                               |             |                             |             |
|-------------------------------|-------------|-----------------------------|-------------|
| <b>Date Closed:</b>           | 1/24/2013   | <b>OA/ID Number:</b>        | CF01952-007 |
| <b>FOIA/SYS Case #:</b>       | 2012-3130-S | <b>Appeal Case #:</b>       |             |
| <b>Re-review Case #:</b>      |             | <b>Appeal Disposition:</b>  |             |
| <b>P-2/P-5 Review Case #:</b> |             | <b>Disposition Date:</b>    |             |
| <b>AR Case #:</b>             |             | <b>MR Case #:</b>           |             |
| <b>AR Disposition:</b>        |             | <b>MR Disposition:</b>      |             |
| <b>AR Disposition Date:</b>   |             | <b>MR Disposition Date:</b> |             |

### RESTRICTION CODES

**Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]**

P-1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]  
P-2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]  
P-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]  
P-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]  
P-5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]  
P-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Removed as a personal record misfile.

**Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]**

(b)(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]  
(b)(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]  
(b)(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]  
(b)(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]  
(b)(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]  
(b)(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]  
(b)(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]  
(b)(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

14-Mar-1990 12:26 EDT

MEMORANDUM FOR:

JNET%"ZELIKOW@VAXC"@WHSR"@MRGATE

FROM:

VMSMail User JNET%"WHSR"  
( JNET%"WHSR@WHSR"@MRGATE)

SUBJECT:

Received: From WHSR(WHSR) by VAXC with Jnet id 1147  
for ZELIKOW@VAXC; Wed, 14 Mar 90 12:26 EST  
Date: Wed, 14 Mar 90 12:22 EST  
From: <WHSR@WHSR>  
To: ZELIKOW@VAXC  
Original\_To: JNET%"ZELIKOW@VAXC"

<DIST>

PRT: SIT

SIT: BENKO BLACKWILL HUTCHINGS RICE ZELIKOW SIT SUM VAX

<PREC>

PRIORITY

<CLAS>

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

<OSRI>

RUFHOL

<DTG>

141652Z MAR 90

<ORIG>

FM AMEMBASSY BONN

<TO>

TO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 5736  
INFO RUEKJCS/SECDEF WASHDC  
RUEKJCS/JCS WASHDC  
RUEHDD/NATO COLLECTIVE  
RUFHPPP/FRG COLLECTIVE  
RUEHMO/AMEMBASSY MOSCOW 7034  
RUEHWR/AMEMBASSY WARSAW 9267  
RUSNNOA/USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE//POLAD//  
RHFQAAA/CINCUSAFE RAMSTEIN AB GE//POLAD//  
RUFDAAA/CINCUSAREUR HEIDELBERG GE//POLAD//

<SUBJ>

SUBJECT: FRG-FRENCH DECLARATION ON POLISH PARTICIPATION

DECLASSIFIED

PER DOS WAIVER, November 6, 2015

By SS NARA, Date 9/5/25



IN TWO-PLUS-FOUR TALKS

<TEXT>

BT

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ BONN 08488

E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR

TAGS: PREL, PGOV, GE, FR, PO

SUBJECT: FRG-FRENCH DECLARATION ON POLISH PARTICIPATION  
IN TWO-PLUS-FOUR TALKS

1. (U) IN A DECLARATION ISSUED BY GENSCHER AND DUMAS IN PARIS MARCH 13, THE FRG AND FRANCE STATED THAT POLAND SHOULD PARTICIPATE IN THE TWO-PLUS-FOUR TALKS "WHEN THE QUESTION OF POLAND'S WESTERN BORDER IS CONSIDERED" IN THAT FORUM. GENSCHER PROVIDED AN INKLING OF THIS NEW FRG POSITION THE PREVIOUS DAY WHEN FOLLOWING HIS TALKS WITH FOREIGN SECRETARY HURD IN BONN, GENSCHER TOLD THE PRESS THAT POLAND SHOULD BE REPRESENTED IN THE TWO-PLUS-FOUR TALKS ONCE THE BORDER QUESTION CAME UP. THE FULL TEXT OF THE GENSCHER-DUMAS STATEMENT IS PROVIDED IN PARA. 4 BELOW.

2. (U) A CONTACT IN THE FRG FOREIGN OFFICE TOLD US THAT THE POLES HAD NOT BEEN IN DIRECT CONTACT WITH THE FRG ON THE BORDER ISSUE "IN THE RECENT PAST." GENSCHER PERSONALLY WAS VERY INTERESTED IN SEEING POLISH PARTICIPATION IN THE TWO-PLUS-FOUR TALKS ONCE THE BORDER ISSUE WAS DISCUSSED, BUT THE FRG HAD NO "FIRM PRESCRIPTION" ABOUT THE MANNER AND FORM OF POSSIBLE POLISH PARTICIPATION. HE SAID THIS WAS A QUESTION TO BE DECIDED BY THE SIX.

3. (U) COMMENT: FOLLOWING THE INTERNATIONAL FLAP OVER HOW THE FRG HANDLED THE ODER-NEISSE QUESTION IN RECENT WEEKS, GENSCHER (APPARENTLY WITH KOHL'S BACKING) SEEMS TO WANT TO GET OUT IN FRONT OF THE CONTROVERSY BY INVITING THE POLES TO TWO-PLUS-FOUR TALKS ONCE THE BORDER QUESTION IS CONSIDERED. IN THIS WAY, THE FRG IS SEEKING A WAY NOT ONLY TO CONTINUE TO ALLAY POLISH CONCERNS, BUT ALSO TO DEFUSE THE RECENT INTERNATIONAL FALLOUT FROM THE ODER-NEISSE DEBATE.

4. (U) INFORMAL EMBASSY TRANSLATION OF THE GENSCHER-DUMAS STATEMENT:

AS PART OF THEIR REGULAR SERIES OF MEETINGS, FOREIGN MINISTER GENSCHER AND FOREIGN MINISTER DUMAS HAD A THOROUGH EXCHANGE OF VIEWS TODAY (MARCH 13) IN PARIS. WITH RESPECT TO THE GERMAN-FRENCH SUMMIT AND THE SPECIAL SUMMIT IN DUBLIN, THEY NOTED THE AGREEMENT OF BOTH THEIR COUNTRIES FOR A STRENGTHENING OF THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF THE EUROPEAN POLITICAL UNION.

BOTH MINISTERS DISCUSSED THE TALKS AGREED UPON IN OTTAWA ABOUT THE EXTERNAL ASPECTS OF THE ESTABLISHMENT OF GERMAN UNITY, WHICH FRANCE HAS ALWAYS SUPPORTED. THEY CONFIRMED THEIR GOVERNMENTS' VIEW THAT POLAND SHOULD PARTICIPATE IN THESE TALKS WHEN THE QUESTION OF POLAND'S WESTERN BORDER IS CONSIDERED.

BOTH MINISTERS UNDERScoreD THE FUNDAMENTAL ROLE OF GERMAN-FRENCH RELATIONS IN CONNECTION WITH THE CURRENT

DEVELOPMENTS IN EUROPE AND DECIDED TO INTENSIFY CONTACTS  
AT ALL LEVELS.

END TEXT.

WALTERS

BT

#8488

<SECT>

SECTION: 01 OF 01

<SSN>

8488

<TOR>

900314121745 MSG000258725865



Return to  
RB

Document Originally  
Attached to  
Following Page

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

MEETING WITH LEADERS OF POLISH AMERICAN CONGRESS

DATE: March 14, 1990  
TIME: 2:00 p.m.  
LOCATION: Oval Office  
THROUGH: DAVID DEMAREST  
ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT FOR  
COMMUNICATIONS  
FROM: SICHAN SIV *Sivan*  
DEPUTY ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT  
FOR PUBLIC LIAISON  
SCOTT SUTHERLAND *SS*  
ASSISTANT DIRECTOR  
OFFICE OF PUBLIC LIAISON

I. PURPOSE:

To discuss issues relating to German reunification and the Polish-German border.

II. BACKGROUND:

The Polish American Congress (PAC) was incorporated in 1944 and is an umbrella organization of over 3000 Polish American organizations ranging from national fraternal benefit societies to veterans, cultural, business, professional, parish and social associations and clubs-- including individual members.

PAC President, Ed Moskal, has met with you several times including a Roosevelt Room meeting before your visit to Poland. He was at the welcoming ceremony for Lech Walesa and served as a member of your trade mission to Poland. In 1988 you attended his installation as President of the Polish National Alliance with Governor Jim Thompson.

On February 15, Mr. Moskal wrote the attached letter requesting that you make a public statement during Prime Minister Mazowiecki's visit, supporting the permanence of the present Polish-German border. Like the Polish government, Mr. Moskal believes Chancellor Kohl has not gone far enough toward resolving the issue. The Poles want the issue settled by formal treaty, which should be drafted immediately. President Mitterand has now embraced this position, so has Mrs. Thatcher, though without specifying when the treaty should be concluded. In the process, both have gone well ahead of Chancellor Kohl. Your talking points lay out the position you have taken and welcome Chancellor Kohl's recent steps.



The Poles also want precise guarantees about how and when Poland will be involved in the discussions over German unification. Here you can assure them that Two Plus Four is designed to address specific issues related to Four Power rights and responsibilities and will not take decisions regarding Poland's vital security without Poland's involvement. Prime Minister Mazowiecki's visit next week will be the first formal occasion for such "involvement."

Mr. Moskal has also written to you about the Enterprise Fund. He suggested that PAC be designated as the Fund. While we are not yet in the position to announce the Board, you can assure him that it and the Fund will be operational soon.

### III. PARTICIPANTS:

The President

Mr. Edward Moskal, President, Polish American Congress and Polish National Alliance

Ambassador John Kordek, Executive Director, Polish American Congress

Mr. Jan Nowak (Yawn Novack), Member, Board of Directors, Polish American Congress

Mrs. Myra Lenard, Washington Representative, Polish American Congress

Robert Gates

Ambassador Robert Blackwill

Sichan Siv

### IV. PRESS PLAN:

Closed. White House photographer only.

### V. SEQUENCE OF EVENTS:

- Guests are escorted into Oval Office and seated.
- Discussion ensues.
- Guests are thanked and depart.

Talking points provided by NSC.

Attachment.



# POLISH AMERICAN CONGRESS, Inc.

## NATIONAL OFFICE:

1200 North Ashland Avenue  
Chicago, Illinois 60622  
(312) 252-5737  
Fax (312) 252-4404

## WASHINGTON OFFICE:

1625 I Street, N.W.  
Washington, D.C. 20006  
(202) 296-6955  
Fax (202) 835-1565

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Chicago, IL  
HELEN V. WOJCIK  
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Depew, NY  
Steve H. Tokarski  
Schererville, IN  
Hieronim Wyszynski  
New York, NY

## EXECUTIVE DIRECTORS

Myra Lenard  
Washington, D.C.  
Eugene E. Rosypal  
Chicago, IL

February 15, 1990

Honorable George Bush  
President of the United States  
The White House  
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. President:

The Polish American Congress greatly appreciates your personal involvement and the role you have played in the process of peaceful change in Poland. Your initiative and forceful leadership assured the participation of our allies and partners in a common effort to assist Poland and Hungary in their present, difficult transition period and as they forge their democratic institutions.

Now as the two Germanies move rapidly toward re-unification, we ask you, Mr. President, and your Secretary of State, to re-iterate publicly the long-standing American position concerning the safeguarding of the territorial integrity of Poland.

A statement by you, Mr. President, during Prime Minister Mazowiecki's March visit to the United States, re-affirming unequivocally U.S. support for the present Polish-German border will go a long way in alleviating some of the present fears about a possible strong, re-united Germany. A re-united Germany, we believe, could play a very positive role in establishing economic and political stability in East Central Europe. Such a Germany and a democratic, economically sound Poland with inviolable and definitive borders would help strengthen democracy in the area as well.

The subject of the inviolability of the present Polish-German border is of utmost interest to my organization, the more than 10,000,000 Americans of Polish heritage, and, most importantly, to the brave people of Poland.

The peaceful revolution in much of Eastern Europe has brought the United States much closer to achieving the main objectives of its bi-partisan policy, which has been consistently pursued since 1956. Since we are now on the threshold of a new era, there appears to be a need to redefine our long-term goals toward this area. In the present, fluid situation, we are facing both opportunities and dangers.



The dismantling of the communist system continues in much of Eastern Europe. Emerging democracies remain, however, very frail. A failure of the economic reforms in Poland and other countries could lead to chaos, and eventually to another form of dictatorship. If this were to occur, East-Central Europe could become a hotbed for territorial and ethnic conflicts, dangerous to peace and the stability of Europe.

In order to avert such dangerous scenarios we see an urgent need for an American long-range plan to consolidate democracy and to reintegrate the eastern part of the continent into a family of European nations rooted in their common values and based on mutual respect for their sovereignty and territorial integrity. Such a plan would call for participation and cooperation of Western democracies under the leadership of the United States. It would call for political as well as economic measures. The grand vision of the future Europe put forward by you, Mr. President, would have beneficial psychological impact on these forces in Poland and other countries of the area, which are struggling now to establish lasting democratic order.

A meeting of the four victorious powers of WW II and two Germanies has now been approved.

We welcome this decision which could ensure that the future, reunited Germany would present no danger to the territorial integrity and sovereignty of its neighbors, especially Poland. The conference of six should not, however, become another Potsdam, where smaller nations were deprived of their voice in decisions concerning their fate and vital interests. We believe that Poland should be included. Your support for this is requested.

Such a meeting should be followed by Helsinki II; a conference of 35 countries with the participation of the U.S. and the Soviet Union which would establish the framework for reintegration of Europe.

This idea, originally put forward by Gorbachev, was embraced recently by Polish Prime Minister T. Mazowiecki, who expanded it by proposing that Helsinki II could set up a permanent body - Coordination Council of Europe - which would assist the process of reintegration of both parts of the continent. A binding Helsinki II treaty could lay foundations for the common house of Europe and include provisions for the inviolability of the post WW II European borders.

page 3

Ideally, Helsinki II could take place as soon as possible after the scheduled elections in East Germany so that the East German government could speak in the name of its people. The conference should end before the process of German reunification is finalized.

Economic redevelopment of democratic East-Central Europe is also essential in making this part of the world an equal partner of the West.

We propose that your Administration consider a coordinated long-range economic reconstruction plan, which would create a mechanism for constructive American influence in the region. It would be mounted, carried on and financed collectively by the U.S., Western Europe and Japan. U.S. funding for the plan could come by using a portion of the savings resulting from planned military reductions.

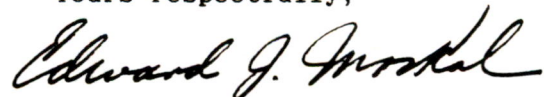
We feel that such a concept would have the strong support of our allies, particularly Britain and France, and the U.S. Congress. We are anxious that the reconstruction plan should have bi-partisan support from the very beginning and we would like to ask you, respectfully, to move the initiative in this direction.

We support, Mr. President, your wise policy of maintaining the strong defense of the West. We believe that our strong defense policy during the 1980's helped bring about the developments we are witnessing in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union today. We realize that the pressures to reduce substantially U.S. defense spending are great and mounting. I know, however, that you will continue to insist that these reductions be modest in order to ensure a continued and strong U.S. defensive capability.

Mr. President, due to your leadership, the prestige and influence of the United States in Poland and East-Central Europe has never been higher. We trust that full advantage will be taken of the present historical opportunities, which may not repeat themselves for a long time.

With warmest regards,

Yours respectfully,



Edward J. Moskal  
President  
Polish American Congress



TALKING POINTS

MEETING WITH POLISH AMERICAN CONGRESS

MARCH 14, 1990

-- I WANT TO THANK YOU AGAIN FOR YOUR SUPPORT  
AND FOR YOUR TIRELESS EFFORTS ON BEHALF OF  
THE POLISH PEOPLE.

-- AS YOU KNOW, YOUR THOUGHTS AND YOUR  
CONCERNS ARE IMPORTANT TO ME. I WANT TO

HEAR WHAT'S ON YOUR MIND, PARTICULARLY  
AS WE PREPARE FOR THE VISIT OF PRIME  
MINISTER MAZOWIECKI.

BORDER ISSUE:

-- THANK YOU FOR YOUR RECENT LETTER  
CONCERNING THE POLISH-GERMAN BORDER.  
I KNOW WHAT A SERIOUS MATTER THIS IS FOR  
POLES.

-- LET ME ASSURE YOU OF MY COMMITMENT TO

POLAND'S FUNDAMENTAL RIGHT TO EXIST WITHIN  
SECURE AND LEGALLY-DEFINED BORDERS. I AM  
ABSOLUTELY CONVINCED THAT THIS PROBLEM WILL  
BE FULLY SOLVED.

-- I DISCUSSED THIS MATTER DIRECTLY WITH  
CHANCELLOR KOHL AT CAMP DAVID. I EXPLAINED  
THE U.S. POSITION THAT THE PRESENT WESTERN  
FRONTIER OF POLAND SHOULD BE THE PERMANENT  
BORDER. I ALSO MADE THIS POINT AT OUR  
JOINT PRESS CONFERENCE ON FEBRUARY 25.

3.

-- AS YOU KNOW, ON MARCH 8 CHANCELLOR KOHL  
PRESENTED, AND THE BUNDESTAG OVERWHELMINGLY  
ADOPTED, A DRAFT RESOLUTION REAFFIRMING  
THE INVIOABILITY OF THE CURRENT POLISH-  
GERMAN BORDER, TO BE FORMALIZED BY TREATY  
BETWEEN A FUTURE ALL-GERMAN GOVERNMENT  
AND THE POLISH GOVERNMENT.

-- I BELIEVE THE CHANCELLOR'S INITIATIVE  
IS A POSITIVE AND IMPORTANT STEP TOWARD  
SETTLING THE BORDER QUESTION ON A LEGAL  
AND PERMANENT BASIS.

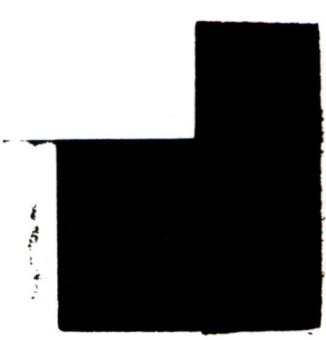
4.



TWO PLUS FOUR: (If asked)

- THE TWO PLUS FOUR PROCESS WILL DECIDE ONLY THOSE QUESTIONS WHICH DERIVE DIRECTLY FROM RESIDUAL FOUR POWER RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES FOR BERLIN AND GERMANY AS A WHOLE. YOU MAY BE ASSURED THAT THE U.S. WILL NOT BE A PARTY TO ANY DECISIONS THAT AFFECT THE VITAL INTERESTS OF POLAND WITHOUT POLAND'S INVOLVEMENT.

5.



ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE TO POLAND:

- THE PRESIDENTIAL MISSION TO POLAND WAS A GREAT SUCCESS. I APPRECIATE THE IMPORTANT CONTRIBUTION YOU MADE AS A MEMBER OF THE MISSION, AND I WAS GRATEFUL FOR THE REPORT YOU SENT ME.
- WE NOW HAVE A CLEARER PICTURE OF WHAT THE U.S. CAN DO MOST EFFECTIVELY TO HELP. THIS WILL BE IMPORTANT IN OUR EFFORTS TO

6.

PROVIDE SUSTAINED AND USEFUL ASSISTANCE.

- DEPUTY SECRETARY EAGLEBURGER, OUR COORDINATOR FOR ASSISTANCE TO EASTERN EUROPE, HAS GOTTEN STRAIGHT TO WORK. AS YOU KNOW, HE WAS IN WARSAW AT THE END OF FEBRUARY.
- THE \$1 BILLION STABILIZATION FUND, WHICH WE ORGANIZED AND TO WHICH WE CONTRIBUTED \$200 MILLION, IS HAVING THE DESIRED EFFECT OF UNDERPINNING THE ECONOMY AS THE

7.

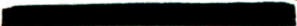


RADICAL REFORM MEASURES TAKE HOLD.  
THE REFORMS SEEM TO BE SUCCEEDING.

- THE ENTERPRISE FUND SHOULD BE UP AND RUNNING SOON. I HOPE TO ANNOUNCE THE MEMBERS OF THE BOARD IN THE NEXT FEW DAYS.
- (If asked) I WOULD NOT WANT TO MENTION SPECIFIC NAMES UNTIL THE BOARD IS ANNOUNCED, BUT I CAN ASSURE YOU THAT IT INCLUDES TOP PROFESSIONALS IN THE MOST

8.

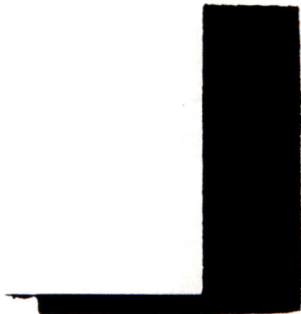




RELEVANT FIELDS. OF COURSE POLISH-  
AMERICANS WILL ALSO BE WELL REPRESENTED.



9.



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

1940

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

March 13, 1990

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR ROBERT M. GATES

THROUGH:

ROBERT D. BLACKWILL *RB*

FROM:

ROBERT L. HUTCHINGS *RZH*

SUBJECT:

The President's Meeting with the Polish American Congress, March 15, 1990

At Tab I is a memorandum from Bill Sittmann to Jim Cicconi attaching talking points for inclusion in the President's briefing package for his meeting with the Polish American Congress. They cover the border issue and the Enterprise Fund, topics raised in the latest letters from the P.A.C. President Ed Moskal. We will also provide a couple of paragraphs of background for the Office of Public Liaison's briefing memo for the President.

RECOMMENDATION

That you authorize Bill Sittmann to sign the Tab I memorandum for Cicconi.

Approve \_\_\_\_\_

Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_

Attachments

Tab I Sittmann Memorandum for Cicconi  
Tab A Points to be Made

**DECLASSIFIED**

White House Guidelines

E.O. 13526, SEC 3.4 (b), September 11, 2006

By *fun* NARA, Date *1/24/13*

CONFIDENTIAL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

CONFIDENTIAL

1940

MEMORANDUM FOR JAMES W. CICCONI

FROM: WILLIAM F. SITTMANN

SUBJECT: The President's Meeting with the Polish American Congress, March 15, 1990

Attached at Tab A are talking points for the President's use in his meeting with leaders of the Polish American Congress. They cover the two main items on the P.A.C. agenda -- the border issue and the Enterprise Fund -- and should be included in the briefing package being prepared by the Office of Public Liaison.

Attachment

Tab A Points to be Made

DECLASSIFIED

White House Guidelines

E.O. 13526, SEC 3.4 (b), September 11, 2006

By RWA NARA, Date 1/24/13

CONFIDENTIAL

Declassify on: OADR

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POINTS TO BE MADE FOR MEETING WITH POLISH AMERICAN CONGRESS

- I want to thank you again for your support and for your tireless efforts on behalf of the Polish people.
- As you know, your thoughts and your concerns are important to me. I want to hear what's on your mind, particularly as we prepare for the visit of Prime Minister Mazowiecki.

BORDER ISSUE

- Thank you for your letter concerning the Polish-German border. I know what a serious matter this is for Poles.
- Let me assure you of my commitment to Poland's fundamental right to exist within secure and legally-defined borders. I am absolutely convinced that this problem will be fully solved.
- I discussed this matter directly with Chancellor Kohl at Camp David. I explained the U.S. position that the present Western frontier of Poland should be the permanent border. I also made this point at our joint press conference on February 25.
- As you know, on March 8 Chancellor Kohl presented, and the Bundestag overwhelmingly adopted, a draft resolution reaffirming the inviolability of the current Polish-German border, to be formalized by treaty between a future all-German government and the Polish Government.
- I believe the Chancellor's initiative is a positive and important step toward settling the border question on a legal and permanent basis.

- (TWO PLUS FOUR -- IF ASKED) The Two Plus Four process will decide only those questions which derive directly from residual Four Power rights and responsibilities for Berlin and Germany as a whole. You may be assured that the U.S. will not be a party to any decisions that affect the vital interests of Poland without Poland's involvement.

#### ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE TO POLAND

- The Presidential Mission to Poland last December was a great success. I appreciate the important contribution you (i.e., Ed Moskal) made as a member of the Mission, and I was grateful for the report you sent me.
- We now have a clearer picture of what the U.S. can do most effectively to help. This will be important in our efforts to provide sustained and useful assistance.
- Deputy Secretary Eagleburger, our Coordinator for assistance to Eastern Europe, has gotten straight to work. As you know, he was in Warsaw at the end of February.
- The \$1 billion stabilization fund, which we organized and to which we contributed \$200 million, is having the desired effect of underpinning the economy as the radical reform measures take hold. The reforms seem to be succeeding.
- The Enterprise Fund should be up and running soon. I hope to announce the members of the Board in the next few days.
- (IF ASKED) I would not want to mention specific names until the Board is announced, but I can assure you that it includes top professionals in the most relevant fields. Of course Polish-Americans will also be well represented.

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

3/13/90  
1950

(RB)

I didn't see this until after I had given Sichan Siv three paragraphs for the President's briefing memo. ~~It was~~ Nowak's letter struck me as too convoluted and legalistic for a 15-minute meeting, anyway. Better for the President to focus on the broader issues of the border and the unification process.

— Bot



February 28, 1990

The Honorable Robert D. Blackwill  
Special Assistant to the President and Senior  
Director, European and Soviet Affairs Division  
National Security Council  
Washington, D.C. 20506

Dear Mr. Ambassador:

At the press conference in Camp David on February 25, Chancellor Kohl made several grossly inaccurate statements, which I think should be put straight.

Chancellor Kohl said:

"According to the legal situation in our country, it is a freely elected parliament, the sovereign of the people, which has to decide these "border" questions. And this is laid down also in the treaties of 1970 and has been mentioned in the conversations which took place in those years again and again."

1. Contrary to Kohl's statement, the Bonn-Warsaw treaty of 1970 does not contain any expiration clause at the time of reunification nor does it need to be reaffirmed by the parliament of a reunited Germany.

2. It is true that according to German law only the parliament of a united Germany can finally decide the border questions. In the post-war period, the Federal Republic concluded treaties settling borders with Belgium (24 September 1956), Holland (8 April 1960), the Soviet Union (10 August 1970) and Poland (7 December 1970). Treaties with the Soviet Union and Poland were concluded despite the fact that the Federal Republic has no common border with either of these two states. Chancellor Kohl cannot challenge the validity of the treaty with Poland without undermining all other international settlements, treaties, and commitments, including the Helsinki Final Act, which have been ratified by the Bundestag. In dealing with foreign powers, the Federal Republic has claimed in the past that it represents all of Germany.

The Bundestag resolution of 1972 to the effect that the Bonn-Warsaw pact would not be binding on a united Germany was a unilateral act, which was never negotiated with Poland and is thus deprived of any international legal standing. However, since 1972, this Bundestag resolution has been the main instrument of extreme German nationalist elements who demand a return to the German borders of 1937.

RTA - memo for  
Pres  
CC: RTH/2/C  
return

Chancellor Kohl further stated:

"If I interpret the wish of the Polish government correctly, and I think I do, then the Polish government does have very national wish that the competent sovereign, the legally competent sovereign take that position. In Poland, there are certain circles who wish that, before such a decision is adopted by a new German parliament, decisions be taken in the two German states."

The above statement, suggesting that the Polish people are in any way divided in the issue of borders and that the Polish government favors Chancellor Kohl's position, is flagrantly untrue. Any impartial observer, including the U.S. Ambassador in Warsaw, will confirm that all Poles are united in their view that the Polish borders were already made final and inviolable in treaties with both Germanies and in the Helsinki Final Act. Prime Minister Mazowiecki, in addressing himself to Chancellor Kohl's legal claims, proposed as a compromise that negotiations should start immediately in order to consolidate the two separate treaties with the Federal Republic and the GDR into one legal instrument, which would be initialed now and ratified by the future parliament of a reunited Germany. I understand that Chancellor Kohl rejected this proposal.

The future stability and security of Europe and the world may depend on finally settling the border issue before reunification while the four powers still have certain leverage and influence in the Federal German Government. The alternative would be a return to the situation of 1939. In the longer run, the United States presence in Europe and the German allegiance to the NATO pact and the West European community would be in greater danger from German expansionists than from any electoral victory of the SPD. A future Germany under the control of the nationalists would renounce any ties and any restrictions which could represent and impediment to their territorial aspirations.

With best regards.

Sincerely,



Jan Nowak  
Consultant, National Security Council

3815 Forest Grove Drive  
Annandale, VA 22003



February 28, 1990

The Honorable Robert D. Blackwill  
Special Assistant to the President and Senior  
Director, European and Soviet Affairs Division  
National Security Council  
Washington, D.C. 20506

*Handwritten notes:*  
RTH - memo for  
Pres  
CC: RTH/2/C  
Kohn

Dear Mr. Ambassador:

At the press conference in Camp David on February 25, Chancellor Kohl made several grossly inaccurate statements, which I think should be put straight.

Chancellor Kohl said:

"According to the legal situation in our country, it is a freely elected parliament, the sovereign of the people, which has to decide these "border" questions. And this is laid down also in the treaties of 1970 and has been mentioned in the conversations which took place in those years again and again."

1. Contrary to Kohl's statement, the Bonn-Warsaw treaty of 1970 does not contain any expiration clause at the time of reunification nor does it need to be reaffirmed by the parliament of a reunited Germany.

2. It is true that according to German law only the parliament of a united Germany can finally decide the border questions. In the post-war period, the Federal Republic concluded treaties settling borders with Belgium (24 September 1956), Holland (8 April 1960), the Soviet Union (10 August 1970) and Poland (7 December 1970). Treaties with the Soviet Union and Poland were concluded despite the fact that the Federal Republic has no common border with either of these two states. Chancellor Kohl cannot challenge the validity of the treaty with Poland without undermining all other international settlements, treaties, and commitments, including the Helsinki Final Act, which have been ratified by the Bundestag. In dealing with foreign powers, the Federal Republic has claimed in the past that it represents all of Germany.

The Bundestag resolution of 1972 to the effect that the Bonn-Warsaw pact would not be binding on a united Germany was a unilateral act, which was never negotiated with Poland and is thus deprived of any international legal standing. However, since 1972, this Bundestag resolution has been the main instrument of extreme German nationalist elements who demand a return to the German borders of 1937.



Chancellor Kohl further stated:

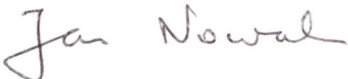
"If I interpret the wish of the Polish government correctly, and I think I do, then the Polish government does have very national wish that the competent sovereign, the legally competent sovereign take that position. In Poland, there are certain circles who wish that, before such a decision is adopted by a new German parliament, decisions be taken in the two German states."

The above statement, suggesting that the Polish people are in any way divided in the issue of borders and that the Polish government favors Chancellor Kohl's position, is flagrantly untrue. Any impartial observer, including the U.S. Ambassador in Warsaw, will confirm that all Poles are united in their view that the Polish borders were already made final and inviolable in treaties with both Germanies and in the Helsinki Final Act. Prime Minister Mazowiecki, in addressing himself to Chancellor Kohl's legal claims, proposed as a compromise that negotiations should start immediately in order to consolidate the two separate treaties with the Federal Republic and the GDR into one legal instrument, which would be initialed now and ratified by the future parliament of a reunited Germany. I understand that Chancellor Kohl rejected this proposal.

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With best regards.

Sincerely,



Jan Nowak  
Consultant, National Security Council

3815 Forest Grove Drive  
Annandale, VA 22003

**NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL**

14-Mar-1990 09:07 EDT

UNCLASSIFIED

**MEMORANDUM FOR:**

Robert Blackwill

( BLACKWILL )

**FROM:**

Robert L. Hutchings  
(HUTCHINGS)

**SUBJECT:**

Joint Dumas-Genscher Declaration

Following is the Joint Declaration, translated from the German text:

In the framework of their regular meetings, Foreign Minister Genscher and French Foreign Minister Dumas today (March 13) had a deeper exchange of views. In view of the German-French Summit and the Extraordinary Summit of Dublin, they noted the agreement of both countries on building up the European Community with the prospective of European political union.

Both ministers discussed the talks agreed to in Ottawa on the external aspects of German unification, which France has always supported. They underlined the views of their governments that Poland should participate [beteiligt] in the talks when the question of the western border of Poland is discussed.

Both ministers underlined the fundamental role of German-French relations in connection with current developments in Europe and expressed their determination to strengthen contacts at all levels.

CC: Philip Zelikow  
CC: Adrian A. Basora

( ZELIKOW )  
( BASORA )

RB

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

14-Mar-1990 08:25 EDT

MEMORANDUM FOR: JNET%"HUTCHINGS@VAXC"@WHSR"@MRGATE

FROM: VMSMail User JNET%"WHSR  
( JNET%"WHSR@WHSR"@MRGATE)

SUBJECT:

Received: From WHSR(WHSR) by VAXC with Jnet id 1131  
for HUTCHINGS@VAXC; Wed, 14 Mar 90 08:25 EST  
Date: Wed, 14 Mar 90 08:21 EST  
From: <WHSR@WHSR>  
To: HUTCHINGS@VAXC  
Original\_To: JNET%"HUTCHINGS@VAXC"

<DIST>  
SIT: BENKO BLACKWILL HUTCHINGS RICE ZELIKOW

<ORIG>  
AP

<TOR>  
900313212727

<TEXT>  
R I AM-GERMANY 1STLD-WRITETHRU A0683 03-13 0693  
AM-GERMANY, 1ST LD-WRITETHRU, A0683,0825  
WEST GERMANY, FRANCE AGREE TO INCLUDE POLAND IN UNIFICATION TALKS  
EDS: LEADS WITH 10 GRAFS TO UPDATE WITH FRANCE AND BRITAIN  
AGREEING TO ALLOW POLAND TO PARTICIPATE IN UNIFICATION TALKS, EDITS  
THROUGHOUT TO TIGHTEN; NO PICKUP.  
BY GEORGE BOEHMER=  
ASSOCIATED PRESS WRITER=

BONN, WEST GERMANY (AP) - WEST GERMANY SAID TUESDAY THAT IT WILL  
ALLOW POLAND TO PARTICIPATE IN INTERNATIONAL TALKS ON GERMAN  
UNIFICATION SO THAT IT CAN ARGUE THE ISSUE OF MAINTAINING ITS  
CURRENT BORDER WITH EAST GERMANY.

CHANCELLOR HELMUT KOHL SAID MEANWHILE THAT EAST GERMANS WITH  
MODERATE SAVINGS WILL BE ABLE TO EXCHANGE THEIR MONEY FOR WEST  
GERMAN MARKS ON A ONE-TO-ONE BASIS, ACCORDING TO MEDIA REPORTS.

A FOREIGN MINISTRY STATEMENT ISSUED IN BONN INDICATED FRANCE AND  
WEST GERMANY HAD SETTLED THEIR DIFFERENCES OVER GIVING POLAND A  
PLACE IN UNIFICATION DISCUSSIONS. THE TALKS BEGIN WEDNESDAY BETWEEN  
THE TWO GERMAN STATES AND THE WORLD WAR II VICTORS - THE UNITED  
STATES, SOVIET UNION, FRANCE AND BRITAIN.



THE FOREIGN MINISTRY STATEMENT SAID FRANCE AND WEST GERMANY AGREED THAT POLAND SHOULD PARTICIPATE ''WHEN THE QUESTION OF POLAND'S WESTERN BORDER IS DISCUSSED.''

FRANCE BACKED POLAND'S DEMAND TO BE INCLUDED. WEST GERMANY HAD SAID THE CONCERNS OF ALL INTERESTED NATIONS WOULD BE ADDRESSED, BUT HAD RESISTED WIDENING THE SO-CALLED ''TWO-PLUS-FOUR'' SIX-NATION TALKS.

IT WAS NOT CLEAR, HOWEVER, WHETHER POLAND WOULD ACTUALLY HAVE A SEAT AT THE DISCUSSIONS OR BE CONSULTED IN SOME OTHER WAY WHEN THE BORDER QUESTION ARISES.

POLAND HAS DEMANDED A ROLE TO PROTECT ITS BORDER WITH EAST GERMANY FORMED BY THE ODER AND NEISSE RIVERS. ABOUT ONE-THIRD OF PRESENT-DAY WESTERN POLAND BELONGED TO GERMANY BEFORE WORLD WAR II.

FRENCH PRESIDENT FRANCOIS MITTERRAND DECLARED AFTER MEETING POLISH LEADERS FRIDAY THAT UNIFICATION COULD NOT GO FORWARD UNLESS BOTH GERMANY SIGNED BINDING ACCORDS RECOGNIZING THE BORDER AND ITS INVIOABILITY.

IT WAS A REBUKE OF KOHL, WHO HAD STOPPED SHORT OF MAKING A FIRM RECOGNITION OF THE BORDER, STATING THAT ONLY A UNIFIED GERMANY COULD DO SO.

MITTERRAND TERMED ''INSUFFICIENT'' A DECLARATION PASSED BY THE WEST GERMAN PARLIAMENT THURSDAY THAT PROMISED TO RESPECT THE BORDER BUT FAILED TO MENTION THE ODER-NEISSE LINE.

THE LEADER OF KOHL'S CONSERVATIVE PARTY ACKNOWLEDGED TUESDAY THAT INTERNATIONAL CONCERNS ARE SLOWING GERMAN UNIFICATION, AND SAID THE PROCESS COULD TAKE THREE YEARS TO COMPLETE.

VOLKER RUEHE, GENERAL SECRETARY OF KOHL'S CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC UNION, SAID UNIFICATION CANNOT BE COMPLETED ''AS LONG AS THE EXTERNAL QUESTIONS ... ARE NOT SETTLED.''

HE WAS REFERRING TO HOW GERMAN UNIFICATION WILL AFFECT THE EUROPEAN BALANCE OF POWER AND OTHER NATIONS' SECURITY.

KOHL HAS COME UNDER INTENSE INTERNATIONAL SCRUTINY FOR TRYING TO PUSH UNIFICATION AT A PACE THAT HAS WORRIED THE SOVIETS, AS WELL AS SOME OF WEST GERMANY'S FRIENDS AND NEIGHBORS.

BUT KOHL'S HANDLING OF UNIFICATION HAS WORRIED EUROPEAN NATIONS THAT THEIR SECURITY INTERESTS COULD BE OVERLOOKED DURING THE PROCESS, AND THE SOVIETS HAVE MADE IT CLEAR THEY THINK KOHL IS BEING TOO HASTY.

ONE OF THE MOST COMPLEX UNIFICATION ISSUES FACING THE GERMAN STATES IS HOW TO PROTECT THE ESTIMATED \$10 BILLION IN EAST GERMAN SAVINGS ONCE THE GERMAN ECONOMIES ARE JOINED.

''FEDERAL CHANCELLOR KOHL SAID THIS EVENING AT A CAMPAIGN GATHERING IN COTTBUS THAT MODERATE SAVERS IN EAST GERMANY WILL GET A ONE-TO-ONE EXCHANGE RATE,''

THE ZDF TELEVISION NETWORK SAID, WITHOUT ELABORATING.

WEST GERMAN ECONOMICS MINISTER HELMUT HAUSSMANN MADE SIMILAR COMMENTS AT AN INTERNATIONAL TRADE FAIR IN LEIPZIG.

THE REPORT CAME AS A GERMAN COMMISSION MET IN EAST BERLIN TO HAMMER OUT RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FORMING A MONETARY UNION. HORST KOEHLER, A STATE SECRETARY IN WEST GERMANY'S FINANCE MINISTRY, AND FINANCE EXPERT WALTER ROMBERG, A MINISTER IN THE CARETAKER GOVERNMENT OF COMMUNIST PREMIER HANS MODROW, LED THE MEETING.

THE TWO SIDES HAVE MET TWICE BEFORE, IN BONN AND EAST BERLIN, TO DISCUSS FORMING A MONETARY UNION. BUT NO DECISIONS ON UNIFICATION

ARE EXPECTED UNTIL AFTER THE EAST GERMAN ELECTIONS ON SUNDAY.

A STATEMENT ISSUED AFTER THE MONETARY TALKS GAVE NO INDICATION OF WHETHER THE COMMISSION REACHED AGREEMENT. ``AN ECONOMIC UNION CAN BE COMPLETED QUICKLY WITH THE CORRESPONDING WILL OF THE PARTNERS,`` THE STATEMENT SAID.

THE CURRENT OFFICIAL EXCHANGE RATE IS THREE EAST MARKS FOR ONE WEST MARK FOR TOURISTS AND VISITORS, BUT ONE-TO-ONE FOR COMMERCIAL TRANSACTIONS.

THE EAST GERMAN STATE BANK HAS CALLED FOR A PARITY EXCHANGE RATE. THERE ARE CONCERNS, HOWEVER, THAT IF WEST GERMANY WERE TO BUY UP SAVINGS AT A ONE-TO-ONE RATE, THE HUGE INCREASE IN MONEY SUPPLY WOULD INCREASE INFLATION.

IN FRANKFURT, THE WEST GERMAN CENTRAL BANK SAID THAT STARTING WEDNESDAY, EAST GERMANS COULD FREELY DEPOSIT AND WITHDRAW DEPOSITS IN WEST GERMAN MARKS FROM THEIR BANK ACCOUNTS IN BOTH EAST AND WEST.

EAST GERMANS HAD BEEN LIMITED TO WITHDRAWING NOT MORE THAN 5,000 WEST GERMAN MARKS AT A TIME IN THE WEST, AND 300 WEST GERMAN MARKS PER MONTH IN EAST GERMANY, SAID EAST GERMANY'S OFFICIAL ADN NEWS AGENCY.

AP-NY-03-13-90 2130EST+



NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

14-Mar-1990 10:09 EDT

MEMORANDUM FOR:

JNET%"BLACKWILL@VAXC"@WHSR"@MRGATE

FROM: VMSMail User JNET%"WHSR  
( JNET%"WHSR@WHSR"@MRGATE)

SUBJECT:

Received: From WHSR(WHSR) by VAXC with Jnet id 4314  
for BLACKWILL@VAXC; Wed, 14 Mar 90 10:09 EST  
Date: Wed, 14 Mar 90 10:06 EST  
From: <WHSR@WHSR>  
To: BLACKWILL@VAXC  
Original\_To: JNET%"BLACKWILL@VAXC"

<DIST>

SIT: BENKO BLACKWILL HUTCHINGS RICE ZELIKOW

<ORIG>

REUTER

<TOR>

900314100219

<TEXT>

23

UU YDB

141505 DIP,POL :BC-GERMANY-POLAND 1STLD

POLAND EXPECTS TO JOIN TALKS BUT SEEKS U.S. SUPPORT

BY ANDREW TARNOWSKI

WARSAW, MARCH 14, REUTER - POLAND SAID IT WAS ALMOST CERTAIN  
TO JOIN GERMAN UNIFICATION TALKS WHICH BEGAN IN BONN ON  
WEDNESDAY BUT STILL NEEDED TO CLINCH U.S. SUPPORT.

GOVERNMENT SPOKESWOMAN MALGORZATA NIEZABITOWSKA SAID ALL SIX  
PARTICIPANTS EXCEPT THE UNITED STATES HAD ACCEPTED POLISH  
PARTICIPATION AND PRIME MINISTER TADEUSZ MAZOWIECKI HOPED TO WIN  
U.S. BACKING DURING TALKS IN WASHINGTON NEXT WEEK.

"THIS ISSUE IS NOT FINISHED YET BUT IT SEEMS THAT POLISH  
PARTICIPATION IS PRACTICALLY DECIDED," NIEZABITOWSKA TOLD A NEWS  
CONFERENCE. "WE COUNT VERY MUCH ON U.S. SUPPORT."

AN INVITATION TO JOIN THE TWO GERMANY'S AND THE FOUR WORLD  
WAR TWO ALLIES -- THE UNITED STATES, THE SOVIET UNION, BRITAIN  
AND FRANCE -- WOULD BE A TRIUMPH FOR POLAND AFTER EARLIER ALLIED  
DOUBTS AND OPPOSITION FROM WEST GERMAN CHANCELLOR HELMUT KOHL.

WEST GERMANY BACKED DOWN ON TUESDAY WHEN OFFICIALS IN BONN



SAID THEY HAD NO OBJECTIONS TO POLAND JOINING THE TALKS.

NIEZABITOWSKA STRESSED POLAND ONLY WANTED TO JOIN TO DISCUSS MATTERS DIRECTLY CONCERNING IT, SUCH AS THE SECURITY OF ITS BORDERS WHICH INCLUDE LARGE PRE-WAR GERMAN TERRITORIES.

WARSAW IS SEEKING FORMAL GUARANTEES BEFORE THE TWO GERMANY'S UNITE AND HAS PROPOSED IDENTICAL BORDER TREATIES TO BE INITIALLED WITH THE GOVERNMENTS AND PARLIAMENTS OF EAST AND WEST GERMANY AND RATIFIED BY A UNITED GERMANY.

NIEZABITOWSKA SAID THE TALKS AND THE FRONTIER ISSUE WOULD BE THE FIRST TOPICS MAZOWIECKI WOULD RAISE ON HIS WEEK-LONG VISIT TO THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA STARTING ON MARCH 20.

IN WASHINGTON, HE WILL MEET PRESIDENT GEORGE BUSH, VICE-PRESIDENT DAN QUAYLE, SECRETARY OF STATE JAMES BAKER, THE DEFENCE AND TREASURY SECRETARIES AND MEMBERS OF CONGRESS.

"WE COUNT VERY MUCH ON THE SUPPORT OF THE U.S. GOVERNMENT FOR OUR ATTEMPT TO PARTICIPATE IN THE 'TWO PLUS FOUR' CONFERENCE... (AND) FOR OUR DEMAND FOR THE REGULATION OF THE ODER-NEISSE BORDER BEFORE THE UNIFICATION OF GERMANY," NIEZABITOWSKA SAID.

A POLISH FOREIGN MINISTRY OFFICIAL TOLD REUTERS WARSAW WAS CONFIDENT IT WOULD BE ASKED TO THE TALKS: "WE ARE COUNTING ON A FORMAL INVITATION, OR BETTER TO SAY, WE EXPECT IT."

HE SAID POLAND EXPECTED TO PARTICIPATE AT VARIOUS LEVELS AND STAGES OF THE TALKS "SOMETIMES AT MEETINGS OF EXPERTS, SOMETIMES AT MEETINGS OF MINISTERS".

THE OFFICIAL, WHO ASKED NOT TO BE IDENTIFIED, SAID POLAND BELIEVED THE UNITED STATES WOULD SUPPORT ITS DEMANDS AS WASHINGTON CAME TO APPRECIATE THE POLISH ROLE IN POST-COMMUNIST EUROPE.

"WE ARE CONVINCED THAT THE UNITED STATES WILL SPOT THE STABILISING ROLE OF POLAND IN CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE IN THE NEW POLITICAL CONSTELLATION WHICH IS BEING CREATED IN EUROPE NOW," HE SAID.

"SO IF U.S. STATEMENTS ON WHAT WE WANT ARE NOT CLEAR ENOUGH (YET), I EXPECT THIS TO CHANGE IN OUR FAVOUR."

REUTER AT PGB NJP

NNNN

# Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

## (George Bush Library)

| Document No.<br>and Type | Subject/Title of Document  | Date | Restriction | Class. |
|--------------------------|----------------------------|------|-------------|--------|
| 11. Notes                | Handwritten notes. (4 pp.) | n.d. | (b)(1)      |        |

**Collection:**

**Record Group:** Bush Presidential Records  
**Office:** National Security Council  
**Series:** Blackwill, Robert D., Files  
**Subseries:** Subject Files  
**WHORM Cat.:**  
**File Location:** [Robert] Blackwill - [Handwritten Meeting] Notes [2]

|                               |             |                             |             |
|-------------------------------|-------------|-----------------------------|-------------|
| <b>Date Closed:</b>           | 1/24/2013   | <b>OA/ID Number:</b>        | CF01952-007 |
| <b>FOIA/SYS Case #:</b>       | 2012-3130-S | <b>Appeal Case #:</b>       |             |
| <b>Re-review Case #:</b>      |             | <b>Appeal Disposition:</b>  |             |
| <b>P-2/P-5 Review Case #:</b> |             | <b>Disposition Date:</b>    |             |
| <b>AR Case #:</b>             |             | <b>MR Case #:</b>           |             |
| <b>AR Disposition:</b>        |             | <b>MR Disposition:</b>      |             |
| <b>AR Disposition Date:</b>   |             | <b>MR Disposition Date:</b> |             |

### RESTRICTION CODES

**Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]**

P-1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]  
P-2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]  
P-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]  
P-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]  
P-5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]  
P-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Removed as a personal record misfile.

**Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]**

(b)(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]  
(b)(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]  
(b)(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]  
(b)(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]  
(b)(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]  
(b)(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]  
(b)(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]  
(b)(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information



# Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

## (George Bush Library)

| Document No.<br>and Type | Subject/Title of Document                           | Date | Restriction | Class. |
|--------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------|------|-------------|--------|
| 12. Notes                | Handwritten notes, Re: Kohl/ Bush meeting. (17 pp.) | n.d. | (b)(1)      |        |

### Collection:

**Record Group:** Bush Presidential Records  
**Office:** National Security Council  
**Series:** Blackwill, Robert D., Files  
**Subseries:** Subject Files  
**WHORM Cat.:**  
**File Location:** [Robert] Blackwill - [Handwritten Meeting] Notes [2]

|                               |             |                             |             |
|-------------------------------|-------------|-----------------------------|-------------|
| <b>Date Closed:</b>           | 1/24/2013   | <b>OA/ID Number:</b>        | CF01952-007 |
| <b>FOIA/SYS Case #:</b>       | 2012-3130-S | <b>Appeal Case #:</b>       |             |
| <b>Re-review Case #:</b>      |             | <b>Appeal Disposition:</b>  |             |
| <b>P-2/P-5 Review Case #:</b> |             | <b>Disposition Date:</b>    |             |
| <b>AR Case #:</b>             |             | <b>MR Case #:</b>           |             |
| <b>AR Disposition:</b>        |             | <b>MR Disposition:</b>      |             |
| <b>AR Disposition Date:</b>   |             | <b>MR Disposition Date:</b> |             |

### RESTRICTION CODES

#### Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

P-1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]  
 P-2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]  
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C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Removed as a personal record misfile.

#### Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

(b)(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]  
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 (b)(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information



# Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

## (George Bush Library)

| Document No.<br>and Type | Subject/Title of Document                  | Date     | Restriction | Class. |
|--------------------------|--------------------------------------------|----------|-------------|--------|
| 13. Notes                | Handwritten notes, Re: Bush/ Kohl. (7 pp.) | 02/25/90 | (b)(1)      |        |

**Collection:**

**Record Group:** Bush Presidential Records  
**Office:** National Security Council  
**Series:** Blackwill, Robert D., Files  
**Subseries:** Subject Files  
**WHORM Cat.:**  
**File Location:** [Robert] Blackwill - [Handwritten Meeting] Notes [2]

|                               |             |                             |             |
|-------------------------------|-------------|-----------------------------|-------------|
| <b>Date Closed:</b>           | 1/24/2013   | <b>OA/ID Number:</b>        | CF01952-007 |
| <b>FOIA/SYS Case #:</b>       | 2012-3130-S | <b>Appeal Case #:</b>       |             |
| <b>Re-review Case #:</b>      |             | <b>Appeal Disposition:</b>  |             |
| <b>P-2/P-5 Review Case #:</b> |             | <b>Disposition Date:</b>    |             |
| <b>AR Case #:</b>             |             | <b>MR Case #:</b>           |             |
| <b>AR Disposition:</b>        |             | <b>MR Disposition:</b>      |             |
| <b>AR Disposition Date:</b>   |             | <b>MR Disposition Date:</b> |             |

### RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

P-1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]  
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C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Removed as a personal record misfile.

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 (b)(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]  
 (b)(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]  
 (b)(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]  
 (b)(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information

# Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

## (George Bush Library)

| Document No.<br>and Type | Subject/Title of Document          | Date | Restriction | Class. |
|--------------------------|------------------------------------|------|-------------|--------|
| 14a. Notes               | Handwritten meeting notes. (5 pp.) | n.d. | (b)(1)      |        |

### Collection:

**Record Group:** Bush Presidential Records  
**Office:** National Security Council  
**Series:** Blackwill, Robert D., Files  
**Subseries:** Subject Files  
**WHORM Cat.:**  
**File Location:** [Robert] Blackwill - [Handwritten Meeting] Notes [2]

|                               |             |                             |             |
|-------------------------------|-------------|-----------------------------|-------------|
| <b>Date Closed:</b>           | 1/24/2013   | <b>OA/ID Number:</b>        | CF01952-007 |
| <b>FOIA/SYS Case #:</b>       | 2012-3130-S | <b>Appeal Case #:</b>       |             |
| <b>Re-review Case #:</b>      |             | <b>Appeal Disposition:</b>  |             |
| <b>P-2/P-5 Review Case #:</b> |             | <b>Disposition Date:</b>    |             |
| <b>AR Case #:</b>             |             | <b>MR Case #:</b>           |             |
| <b>AR Disposition:</b>        |             | <b>MR Disposition:</b>      |             |
| <b>AR Disposition Date:</b>   |             | <b>MR Disposition Date:</b> |             |

### RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

P-1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]  
 P-2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]  
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C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Removed as a personal record misfile.

(b)(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]  
 (b)(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]  
 (b)(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]  
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# Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

## (George Bush Library)

| Document No.<br>and Type | Subject/Title of Document                                         | Date     | Restriction | Class. |
|--------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------|----------|-------------|--------|
| 14b. Memo                | From Brent Scowcroft, Re: Meeting with Yevgeniy Primakov. (3 pp.) | 10/25/89 | (b)(1)      | S      |

**Collection:**

**Record Group:** Bush Presidential Records  
**Office:** National Security Council  
**Series:** Blackwill, Robert D., Files  
**Subseries:** Subject Files  
**WHORM Cat.:**  
**File Location:** [Robert] Blackwill - [Handwritten Meeting] Notes [2]

|                               |             |                             |             |
|-------------------------------|-------------|-----------------------------|-------------|
| <b>Date Closed:</b>           | 1/24/2013   | <b>OA/ID Number:</b>        | CF01952-007 |
| <b>FOIA/SYS Case #:</b>       | 2012-3130-S | <b>Appeal Case #:</b>       |             |
| <b>Re-review Case #:</b>      |             | <b>Appeal Disposition:</b>  |             |
| <b>P-2/P-5 Review Case #:</b> |             | <b>Disposition Date:</b>    |             |
| <b>AR Case #:</b>             |             | <b>MR Case #:</b>           |             |
| <b>AR Disposition:</b>        |             | <b>MR Disposition:</b>      |             |
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Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

POINTS TO BE MADE IN MEETING WITH  
YEVGENIY PRIMAKOV, CHAIRMAN OF THE COUNCIL OF THE UNION  
OF THE USSR SUPREME SOVIET

- I am delighted that you and your delegation of parliamentarians are visiting the United States. I understand that President Gorbachev has been gracious in receiving our congressional delegations and I am glad to have the chance to reciprocate.
- Your visit here is indicative of the excellent state of U.S.-Soviet relations as well as of the remarkable changes that are taking place in your country.
- I am very pleased with the state of U.S.-Soviet relations. We have a lot of work to do but I believe that we are making progress across the range of policy issues before us.
- Much of the progress that we have made is due to changes in your country.
- I am following the fascinating reforms that are taking place in the Soviet Union. Every day seems to bring news of changes that we would have thought fantastic just a few years ago.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Declassify on: OADR

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DECLASSIFIED  
PER NSC WAIVER, 1500 2021-02  
By SS NARA, Date 9/5/25

- I am especially interested to hear your views on how perestroika is proceeding. I am sure you know that I have said many times that we want perestroika to succeed. We recognize that the road of reform is difficult but we support what you are doing.
- I am very supportive of the exchange of Soviet and American parliamentarians. Discussions of the practice of governing in our countries can only contribute positively to U.S.-Soviet relations.
- The chance for Soviet and American legislators to talk -- especially now when your institutions in the midst of fundamental reform -- is an important step toward mutual understanding.

## PARTICIPANTS

### U.S.

The President

John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff

Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs

Robert M. Gates, Assistant to the President and Deputy for National Security Affairs

Robert D. Blackwill, Special Assistant to the President for European and Soviet Affairs, NSC Staff (Notetaker)  
Interpreter

### U.S.S.R

Yevgeniy Primakov, Chairman, Council of the Union, U.S.S.R.  
Supreme Soviet

Yuriy V. Dubinin, Ambassador to the U.S.  
Interpreter

(Two additional Soviet Parliamentarians to be provided)



# Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

## (George Bush Library)

| Document No.<br>and Type | Subject/Title of Document  | Date     | Restriction | Class. |
|--------------------------|----------------------------|----------|-------------|--------|
| 14d. Report              | Government report. (2 pp.) | 10/23/89 | (b)(1)      | S      |

**Collection:**

**Record Group:** Bush Presidential Records  
**Office:** National Security Council  
**Series:** Blackwill, Robert D., Files  
**Subseries:** Subject Files  
**WHORM Cat.:**  
**File Location:** [Robert] Blackwill - [Handwritten Meeting] Notes [2]

|                               |             |                             |             |
|-------------------------------|-------------|-----------------------------|-------------|
| <b>Date Closed:</b>           | 1/24/2013   | <b>OA/ID Number:</b>        | CF01952-007 |
| <b>FOIA/SYS Case #:</b>       | 2012-3130-S | <b>Appeal Case #:</b>       |             |
| <b>Re-review Case #:</b>      |             | <b>Appeal Disposition:</b>  |             |
| <b>P-2/P-5 Review Case #:</b> |             | <b>Disposition Date:</b>    |             |
| <b>AR Case #:</b>             |             | <b>MR Case #:</b>           |             |
| <b>AR Disposition:</b>        |             | <b>MR Disposition:</b>      |             |
| <b>AR Disposition Date:</b>   |             | <b>MR Disposition Date:</b> |             |

### RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

P-1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]  
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# Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

## (George Bush Library)

| Document No.<br>and Type | Subject/Title of Document            | Date     | Restriction | Class. |
|--------------------------|--------------------------------------|----------|-------------|--------|
| 15. Notes                | Handwritten notes, Re: NATO. (5 pp.) | 12/03/89 | (b)(1)      |        |

**Collection:**

**Record Group:** Bush Presidential Records  
**Office:** National Security Council  
**Series:** Blackwill, Robert D., Files  
**Subseries:** Subject Files  
**WHORM Cat.:**  
**File Location:** [Robert] Blackwill - [Handwritten Meeting] Notes [2]

|                               |             |                             |             |
|-------------------------------|-------------|-----------------------------|-------------|
| <b>Date Closed:</b>           | 1/24/2013   | <b>OA/ID Number:</b>        | CF01952-007 |
| <b>FOIA/SYS Case #:</b>       | 2012-3130-S | <b>Appeal Case #:</b>       |             |
| <b>Re-review Case #:</b>      |             | <b>Appeal Disposition:</b>  |             |
| <b>P-2/P-5 Review Case #:</b> |             | <b>Disposition Date:</b>    |             |
| <b>AR Case #:</b>             |             | <b>MR Case #:</b>           |             |
| <b>AR Disposition:</b>        |             | <b>MR Disposition:</b>      |             |
| <b>AR Disposition Date:</b>   |             | <b>MR Disposition Date:</b> |             |

### RESTRICTION CODES

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C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Removed as a personal record misfile.

# Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

## (George Bush Library)

| Document No.<br>and Type | Subject/Title of Document  | Date     | Restriction | Class. |
|--------------------------|----------------------------|----------|-------------|--------|
| 16. Notes                | Handwritten notes. (2 pp.) | 12/20/89 | (b)(1)      |        |

**Collection:**

**Record Group:** Bush Presidential Records  
**Office:** National Security Council  
**Series:** Blackwill, Robert D., Files  
**Subseries:** Subject Files  
**WHORM Cat.:**  
**File Location:** [Robert] Blackwill - [Handwritten Meeting] Notes [2]

|                               |             |                             |             |
|-------------------------------|-------------|-----------------------------|-------------|
| <b>Date Closed:</b>           | 1/24/2013   | <b>OA/ID Number:</b>        | CF01952-007 |
| <b>FOIA/SYS Case #:</b>       | 2012-3130-S | <b>Appeal Case #:</b>       |             |
| <b>Re-review Case #:</b>      |             | <b>Appeal Disposition:</b>  |             |
| <b>P-2/P-5 Review Case #:</b> |             | <b>Disposition Date:</b>    |             |
| <b>AR Case #:</b>             |             | <b>MR Case #:</b>           |             |
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# Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

## (George Bush Library)

| Document No.<br>and Type | Subject/Title of Document  | Date     | Restriction | Class. |
|--------------------------|----------------------------|----------|-------------|--------|
| 17. Notes                | Handwritten notes. (3 pp.) | 01/11/90 | (b)(1)      |        |

**Collection:**

**Record Group:** Bush Presidential Records  
**Office:** National Security Council  
**Series:** Blackwill, Robert D., Files  
**Subseries:** Subject Files  
**WHORM Cat.:**  
**File Location:** [Robert] Blackwill - [Handwritten Meeting] Notes [2]

|                               |             |                             |             |
|-------------------------------|-------------|-----------------------------|-------------|
| <b>Date Closed:</b>           | 1/24/2013   | <b>OA/ID Number:</b>        | CF01952-007 |
| <b>FOIA/SYS Case #:</b>       | 2012-3130-S | <b>Appeal Case #:</b>       |             |
| <b>Re-review Case #:</b>      |             | <b>Appeal Disposition:</b>  |             |
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THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

January 10, 1990

*I NOTIFIED THEM  
you'll Be IN  
A tt en d a n c e*

PHOTO WITH EMERGENCY COMMITTEE FOR AID TO POLAND

DATE: Thursday, January 11, 1990  
TIME: 10:35 a.m.  
LOCATION: Oval Office  
  
FROM: DAVID Q. BATES

I. PURPOSE

To recognize the efforts of the Emergency Committee for Aid to Poland (ECAP).

II. BACKGROUND

ECAP is a non-profit organization formed by business, labor, civic and academic leaders to provide emergency humanitarian relief and technical assistance to the Polish people. It is co-chaired by former NSC Director Dr. Zbigniew Brzezinski and Senator Robert Dole. Working with the Polish American Congress and a Polish Solidarity counterpart committee, the Fund for Social Assistance, ECAP has arranged for the shipment to Poland of over \$1 million in supplies (approximately 50 tons of supplies), primarily infant formula and medical supplies. This photo recognizes the formation of ECAP and the initiation of its relief efforts to the Polish people. A more detailed background paper is attached.

III. PARTICIPANTS

The President  
Secretary Dole  
Secretary Derwinski  
Senator Robert Dole, Co-Chairman, ECAP  
Dr. Zbigniew Brzezinski, Co-Chairman, ECAP  
Assistant Secretary of State Robert Barry  
John (Jock) Shirley, Executive Director, ECAP  
David Gergen  
Myra Lenard (Polish American Congress)  
John Richardson (Institute for Peace)  
Jan Novak (Polish Division, Radio Free Europe)  
Boleslaw Wierzbianski (Editor, Nowy Dziennik, New York-based Polish language daily paper)

IV. PRESS PLAN

White House photographer and wire service photographers (to be determined).

V. SEQUENCE OF EVENTS

- Group is ushered into Oval Office.
- The President recognizes Dr. Brzezinski and Senator Dole, Co-Chairmen of ECAP, and Secretaries Dole and Derwinski.
- Group poses for photograph.
- Group is escorted from Oval Office.

VI. REMARKS

None required.



## EMERGENCY COMMITTEE FOR AID TO POLAND

The Emergency Committee for Aid to Poland (ECAP) is a non-profit organization recently formed by a leading group of business, labor, civic and academic leaders to channel humanitarian relief and technical assistance to Poland. It is co-chaired by former NSC Director Dr. Zbigniew Brzezinski and Senator Robert Dole. John W. (Jock) Shirley, former ambassador to Tanzania, is the executive director of ECAP.

This winter is anticipated to be the hardest in Poland in two generations, particularly for infants and young children and the sick. Pressing needs for infant formula and medical supplies have been identified by ECAP in consultation with its Polish counterpart, the Solidarity Fund for Social Assistance.

Working with the Polish American Congress, ECAP has solicited the U.S. business community to meet these needs. Over 50 tons of supplies having a value in excess of \$1 million have been donated. Principal U.S. companies responding to the request have been Bristol-Myers Squibb Co., Pfizer Inc., Schering-Plough Corporation, Wyeth-Ayerst Laboratories and Loma Linda Foods.

Once the immediate emergency needs are met, ECAP intends to focus on longer-term needs for commodities and supplies, drawing on its experience with the efficiency of Polish distributing organizations. Ultimately technical assistance programs, including training programs for local government officials, will be developed with other U.S. volunteer organizations.

On her recent visit to Poland as part of the Presidential Mission, Secretary Dole met with representatives of the Solidarity Fund for Social Assistance and Labor Minister Jacek Kuron to help identify needs. Since her return to the U.S., she has worked closely with ECAP to identify private donors for the needed supplies. It was originally anticipated that she would serve as one of the co-chairmen of ECAP, but Labor Department staff advised that this would be inappropriate. The AFL-CIO has also assisted ECAP, as has the Polish American Congress. Secretary Derwinski also serves as a member of ECAP.

Secretary Dole had initially requested that the supplies be transported to Poland via an airlift utilizing U.S. equipment. Due to concerns about the precedential value of such action and fears of creating a sense of panic in Poland, this request was denied. The supplies are being transported principally by ship and through commercial air transport on a space-available basis. Polish shipping companies and the Polish airline are the principal shippers, donating their services.

Robert Macauley, who is President of AmeriCares Foundation, is a member of ECAP. He has been invited to attend.

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

January 11, 1990

*Press Secretary*  
STATEMENT BY THE ~~PRESIDENT~~

*The President*

Earlier this morning ~~I~~ met with members of the Emergency Committee for Aid to Poland (ECAP). This committee was recently formed by a distinguished group of business, labor, civic and academic leaders to provide humanitarian relief to the people of Poland to help them through the ~~hard winter that lies ahead~~. In ~~the~~ our meeting members of ECAP briefed ~~me~~ *the President* on the status of the organization's efforts. Over 50 tons of much-needed medical supplies and infant formula have already been donated by generous U.S. companies, and shipments of these goods have begun.

*The President*

~~I~~ *app*lauds the efforts of the committee, which is capably led by its co-chairmen, Senator Robert Dole and Dr. Zbigniew Brzezinski. The committee has also been ~~ably~~ assisted by Labor Secretary Elizabeth Dole, who met with Polish leaders to identify needs ~~while in Poland~~ last year as part of ~~my~~ *the* Presidential mission.

The work of ECAP exemplifies both the spirit of volunteerism ~~I~~ ~~encourage~~ and our nation's commitment to aid the people of Eastern Europe as they embark on their new journey into freedom. ~~I wish~~ ECAP ~~every~~ continued success in its ~~vital~~ work.

*The President wishes*

*important*

NSC clears.

*Philip Zelikow*

*1/10*



# Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

## (George Bush Library)

| Document No.<br>and Type | Subject/Title of Document  | Date | Restriction | Class. |
|--------------------------|----------------------------|------|-------------|--------|
| 18. Notes                | Handwritten notes. (5 pp.) | n.d. | (b)(1)      |        |

**Collection:**

**Record Group:** Bush Presidential Records  
**Office:** National Security Council  
**Series:** Blackwill, Robert D., Files  
**Subseries:** Subject Files  
**WHORM Cat.:**  
**File Location:** [Robert] Blackwill - [Handwritten Meeting] Notes [2]

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| <b>Date Closed:</b>           | 1/24/2013   | <b>OA/ID Number:</b>        | CF01952-007 |
| <b>FOIA/SYS Case #:</b>       | 2012-3130-S | <b>Appeal Case #:</b>       |             |
| <b>Re-review Case #:</b>      |             | <b>Appeal Disposition:</b>  |             |
| <b>P-2/P-5 Review Case #:</b> |             | <b>Disposition Date:</b>    |             |
| <b>AR Case #:</b>             |             | <b>MR Case #:</b>           |             |
| <b>AR Disposition:</b>        |             | <b>MR Disposition:</b>      |             |
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### RESTRICTION CODES

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 (b)(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]  
 (b)(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information



# Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

## (George Bush Library)

| Document No.<br>and Type | Subject/Title of Document  | Date | Restriction | Class. |
|--------------------------|----------------------------|------|-------------|--------|
| 19. Notes                | Handwritten notes. (1 pp.) | n.d. | (b)(1)      |        |

**Collection:**

**Record Group:** Bush Presidential Records  
**Office:** National Security Council  
**Series:** Blackwill, Robert D., Files  
**Subseries:** Subject Files  
**WHORM Cat.:**  
**File Location:** [Robert] Blackwill - [Handwritten Meeting] Notes [2]

**Date Closed:** 1/24/2013 **OA/ID Number:** CF01952-007

**FOIA/SYS Case #:** 2012-3130-S

**Re-review Case #:**

**P-2/P-5 Review Case #:**

**AR Case #:**

**AR Disposition:**

**AR Disposition Date:**

**Appeal Case #:**

**Appeal Disposition:**

**Disposition Date:**

**MR Case #:**

**MR Disposition:**

**MR Disposition Date:**

### RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

P-1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]  
P-2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]  
P-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]  
P-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]  
P-5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]  
P-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Removed as a personal record misfile.

(b)(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]  
(b)(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]  
(b)(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]  
(b)(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]  
(b)(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]  
(b)(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]  
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